The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume XXXIV April, 1960 Number Two

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"THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSION IN THE CHURCH, WHETHER IN THE WIDEST AND MOST catholic setting of international seminars and magazines or in the intimacy of face-to-face groups in a single congregation, is the same: to discover the will of God for His whole people, to plan how best to express that will in concrete witness." "The purpose of discussion is to achieve discipline." These quotations from Franklin Littell's penetrating discussion of "The Holy Spirit in Group Decisions" in the leading article of this issue make clear at once that a theology of the church, and in fact a theology of the laity, is involved, as well as a doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Church *as a whole* finds the will of God; but it can do so only as the Holy Spirit has free course to operate in the decision-making process. And true and effective discipline in the Church, to which the author is fully committeed, is achieved only by responsible participation of the laity in the decision-making. The author holds, and rightly so, that such a procedure was characteristic of the early Anabaptists, and is in fact a major contribution by them to the church universal, in contrast to the patterns of the Protestant Volkskirche of the time, operated largely by theologians and pastors (and state officials). The article constitutes a vigorous appeal to use this pattern of decision-making and responsibility to help to deliver modern Protestantism from its deadly involvement in culture-religion and its fatal lethargy; a Divine breakthrough can occur today among the people of God if the Holy Spirit can have His opportunity. And one should add, if the rediscovery of the Bible and its message and authority likewise finds its way into the full life of the Church, i.e., in the laity. A pure traditionalism is strongly challenged by the Littell thesis.

NO TREATMENT OF THE ANABAPTIST THEME IN THE LITERATURE OF ANY country or in any language surpasses in literary quality, historical veracity, and depth of insight into the nature of basic Anabaptism, the modern drama *Brüder in Christo,* by the Swiss dramatist Cäsar von Arx, who has been called the greatest Swiss dramatist since Niklaus Manuel (d. 1530). Von Arx ranks as a great dramatist in German literature in general, and *Brüder in Christo* is his greatest writing. The only rival to *Brüder in Christo* as an Anabaptist work is W. H. Riehl's novelette *Mein Recht* (1875). Although Anabaptism as such is not "the hero" of *Brüder in Christo,* it is treated by von Arx as representative of that earnest type of Christianity which he considers alone to offer hope for a broken world. Von Arx in effect uses his drama to call for a serious consideration of the following of the teachings of Christ as the hope of the world, although he says he is not certain that the world can be run on the basis of the *imitatio Christi.* In the play Anabaptism represents uncompromisingly committed discipleship to Christ, whereas Zwingli represents "necessary" compromise in the application of Christ's way to the actual world. *Brüder in Christo* is a high tragedy in the classic tradition, using persons and situations of noble character; and it is based upon actual history.

The REVIEW is in the fortunate position of being able to select substantial material from two recent doctoral dissertations by young Mennonite scholars (by Gloria Winslow in 1958 and Mary Bender in 1959) which give an authoritative interpretation of both the author and his drama. It is to be hoped that an English translation of *Brüder in Christo* may soon become available.

THE BRIEF REGIONAL TREATMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANABAPTISTS IN THE state of Württemberg, Germany, by Gerhard Hein, which appears in this issue, is taken from Volume IV of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* which appeared as

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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN GROUP DECISIONS

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL*

The path of theology in recent decades has been the path of disengagement from the comfortable adjustments which characterized the culture-religion of the nineteenth century. Shaken by the demonic forms of life and action which appear when men assert the autonomy of their ideals and ambitions, when "freedom" ceases to be obedience and becomes rebellion against God, believing men have turned with passion to the standards of the Christian faith. Compelled by the inexorable judgments of a jealous God, judgments which they know—in spite of very human wishes to the contrary—to be "true and righteous altogether," they have learned a new submission and a new acceptance. The steps which have been taken in the churches have, where thinking and acting men are found, been characterized by the rediscovery of the Bible, the rediscovery of the Church, the rediscovery of the laity, and—since Lund (1952)—the rediscovery of the truth contained in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The strong emphasis upon discontinuity, upon the radical break between Christian commitments and "the German way of life" or "the American (or Southern) way of life," still arouses irritated resistance when proclaimed in America. Of all the great so-called "Christian nations," only the United States has emerged relatively unscathed from the period of two world wars, two depressions, two types of totalitarianism. The standard of living has continued

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to rise, economic productivity has reached unparalleled heights, the churches have shared in the general prosperity. Voices arise out of the ruins of the Tower of Babel, of the shattered assumptions of the Victorian Era and the "Wilhelminisches Zeitalter," and even fairly literate American church leaders are repelled or unable to understand the cry of anguish. Europeans are "too pessimistic," or "too otherworldly," or "too radical in their self-criticism."[1]

Yet the "trans-Atlantic dialogue" is of growing importance to all parties involved, and it cannot be stressed too strongly that our European brethren are raising up precisely the issues on which our Free Church forefathers once took their stand: "the apostolate of the laity," the importance of Christian discipline, the vital center in the "Kerngemeinde," the claims of the Lordship of Christ in all areas of life. Even before the recent war and the struggle with National Socialism, the seven great world gatherings of the Church from Mysore (1937) to Amsterdam (1949) expressed a strong sense of discontent with the comfortable ways of Christendom. The phrase, "the end of the Christian era," was frequently used.[2] After the war the stress on discontinuity increased, and movements in Germany such as the Evangelical Academies and the Kirchentag came forward to give direction to a distraught and seeking laity. (On the fifteenth anniversary celebrations of the Barmen Synod, May 29, 30, 1958, the great meeting addressed itself to prepare an "Aufruf der Laien angesichts der kritischen Lage der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland.") The most dramatic address at a Synod of the Evangelical *Volkskirche* in the last decade was an argument presented by Generalsuperintendent Günter Jacob of Cottbus, on the Oder/Neisse line in East Germany, for the "de-constantinianizing of the Church"! The concern will not down. Churches which have found themselves in peril of losing their souls are engaged in the spiritual wrestling, the determined experiments in relevant religion, which can again give Jacob the name "Israel." The European churchmen who lived through the church struggle, when they were sustained to an immeasurable degree by the prayers and concern of the sister churches throughout the world, and who now lead the greatest laymen's move-

1 An interesting example of this is found in an article by Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church: "Methodism in the Ecumenical Movement," II *The New Christian Advocate* (195) 12:27-32. According to Bishop K. one of the real problems is the attitude to "religious experience" (!). "I once heard Karl Barth belabor American evangelicals for their superficiality (and he included the Methodists). 'Who do these creatures think they are?' he cried, 'that they profess they can have a personal experience of Almighty God?' Well, if God is the wholly other, as Barth teaches, then John Wesley was fooling himself at Aldersgate." Whether Barth teaches that God is "wholly other" in the sense the good bishop thinks is something anybody who has read his writings can judge for himself. It might be well to note, however, (*a*) the normative use of the vague phrase, "religious experience"; (*b*) and that John Wesley would have been horrified by the charge that he had "experienced Almighty God"!

2 Clarence P. Shedd, et al., *History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations* (London: S. P. C. K., 1955) 519.

ments in Christendom, are committed to the ecumenical encounter. The real question before the churches of the Atlantic civilization is whether in America we are still so thoroughly lodged in denominational self-interest and promotionalism, so utterly happy in our cultural adjustment, so beguiled by "The Surge of Piety in America," that we lack the persistence to keep up our end of the discussion. That is to say, the real question is whether we are churches at all—or perhaps instead the associations which give "religious" and "spiritual" expression to a great and wealthy civilization.

The Purpose of Discussion

The purpose of discussion in the Church, whether in the widest and most catholic setting of international seminars and magazines or in the intimacy of face-to-face groups in a single congregation, is the same: to discover the will of God for His whole people, to plan how best to express that Will in concrete witness. When a consensus—"sense of the meeting"—has been reached as to the direction of that Will, and what it implies, we are free to speak of "Christian discipline" on a given matter. There is no more pernicious idea current than the view that Christian liberty is opposed to Christian obedience, freedom to discipline. For the Christian there is no liberty but perfect obedience. Freedom exists only to the service of truth. Protestants, their thinking penetrated by the spirit of the Enlightenment, are far too prone to identify the difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as an alternative between discipline and freedom, when the real issue lies between distinctly different ways of arriving at discipline. Modern men of democratic opinions are too prone to identify the difference between totalitarianism and the open society as the alternative between order and liberty, when the real issue lies between anarchy or the mask of anarchy and representative government which is based on the initiative of its citizens. The direction of discussion is toward consensus. The purpose of discussion is discipline—discipline which is "talked up," and therefore written on the hearts and not beaten on the heads of those concerned. The truest ally of the authoritarian structure, whether in the Church or in society at large, is the emancipated spirit who will not be bound by agreements fairly and openly arrived at. Beginning as an anarchist opposed to all discipline, he ends in flight toward the past—the lost Paradise of tribal identity (Nazism), the lost Eden of propertylessness and simple fraternity (Communism), the lost cave of personal retreat.

> Totalitarianism appeals to the desire to return to the womb. The contrast between religion and culture imposes a strain: we

> escape from this strain by attempting to revert to an identity of religion and culture which prevailed at a more primitive stage; as when we indulge in alcohol as an anodyne, we consciously seek unconsciousness.[3]

The purpose of discussion is, then, to achieve discipline, a discipline which is made strong by the fact that it has been arrived at by full, free, and informed discussion. The discussion is held among those concerned—and the duty of those concerned to make their contribution is a function of the "priesthood of all believers." In line with the contemporary misunderstanding of the nature of freedom, modern man tends to feel that the famous slogan of the Reformation carries the theological implication, "every man his own priest," and the practical guarantee that, in the words of G. K. Chesterton, "each may go to hell in his own way." In reality it means the "unlimited liability" which every man has for his co-believers. It means that he has not the right but the obligation to bring his insights and his concerns to the common table. The understanding tends properly not to the debasement of the priesthood but to the elevation of the laity. No one ever stated this sense of responsibility in the theological field more finely than Menno Simons, in his *Meditation on the Twenty-fifth Psalm* (*ca.* 1537). In his Preface he appeals to Christian readers:

> Then if I err in some things, which by the grace of God I hope is not the case, I pray everyone for the Lord's sake, lest I be put to shame, that if anyone has stronger and more convincing truth he through brotherly exhortation and instruction might assist me. I desire with all my heart to accept it if he is right. Deal with me according to the intention of the Spirit and Word of Christ.[4]

Menno's approach rested on a certain conviction as to the way truth is arrived at in the Church. The same understanding caused the Anabaptist protest in Zürich against the decision of Zwingli to refer major matters to the Town Council in 1525: the Spirit of God had already decided the matter.[5] For long the pioneers of the Free Church have been condemned as "new Donatists," "Schwärmer," "revolutionaries," and their word on this matter identified with the inspirationism of the Zwickau prophets. The *Täufer* concern was, however, quite different. They shared with the Reformers a suspicion of "special revelation." What they meant was that the whole matter had been studied in the Bible, had been prayed over, and a

3 Quoted from Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (p. 68), in Neville, Braybrooke, ed., *T. S. Eliot: A Symposium for His Seventieth Birthday* (N.Y.: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1958).

4 J. C. Wenger, ed., *Menno Simons, The Complete Writings of. . . .* (Scottdale, Penna.: Herald Press, 1956) 65.

5 Emil Egli, ed., *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533* (Zürich: J. Schabelitz, 1879) I, 282-286.

consensus had been reached—a consensus in which Zwingli had had a part. And now he proposed to go against the common understanding by submitting the matter to the decision of a body which had not discussed and was of doubtful faith anyhow. They could not, in good conscience, submit to such procedure. The apostolic pattern of decision-making had been violated.

The apostolic pattern of decision-making rested very simply upon the text, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us. . ." (Acts 15:28). This was the cornerstone of "spiritual government" in the restitution of the true Church which the sixteenth century Täufer attempted, and it has been the recurring line in radical Puritanism, in English nonconformity and the American free churches ever since. It is this which has provided the point of contact between our churches and democracy, and not any supposed system of values or tradition of political activism. Our churches are no more active in public life than the established churches of Europe, and frequently they have been a good deal less active. But they approach the solving of problems in another way, a way which has become so thoroughly a part of our tradition that it is as common in university life, trade unions, professional groups, service organizations, and the other areas of public life, as it is in the congregations and assemblies of the church. In our discussions of church discipline in the free churches we have allowed ourselves to dwell too exclusively on the issue of the use of the ban (Matt. 18:15-17).[6] This is, of course, the most dramatic aspect of discipline, and that which comes to the mind of outsiders when they look at a community with strong internal discipline. But it is called into play properly in the rare and difficult case, where the positive supports of the community of brotherhood-love have broken down.

> Wherefore, brethren, understand correctly, no one is excommunicated or expelled by us from the communion of the brethren but those who have already separated and expelled themselves from Christ's communion either by false doctrine or by improper conduct. For we do not want to expel any, but rather to receive; not to amputate, but rather to heal; not to discard, but rather to win back; not to grieve, but rather to comfort; not to condemn, but rather to save. For this is the true nature of a Christian brother.[7]

We now have significant new evidence as to the influence of the Strassburgers on John Calvin's understanding of church discipline as the "third mark" (after the Word and the Sacraments) of the true church, and as to the influence of the Hessian Täufer upon Butzer,

6 See my discussion in *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1958), revised edition, pp. 86-95.

7 *Menno Simons,* 413.

Sturm, and Zell in the matter of church discipline and confirmation.[8] The important point here, however, is that we appreciate how discussion and discipline were related in early free church teaching.

The author of the discipline which is arrived at by the "talking up" process is the governing Presence in the Church: God the Holy Spirit. The idea that the results of discussion are produced by pooling the resources of those who discuss is, like infatuation with the mere mechanics of the process, a rather recent notion. Discussion is a means of discovering something given, something which is there to be found. Order is discovered, not made. The author of order, whether of discipline in the Church or of law in the society, is the Other. Above all it is important to see clearly the difference between mere parliamentarianism and the full process by which order is discovered, the process in which the pursuit of that order creates the will to sustain it when it is revealed. There is nothing more pernicious in effect than the notion that maintaining certain mechanical procedures (e.g., proportional representation, referendum and recall, plebiscite) will in itself guarantee order and maintain it. This is the great error in a book such as Winfried Martini's *Das Ende aller Sicherheit* (1955).[9] A moment's reflection will remind us that if democracy is merely majority rule or "consent of the governed," then the end of democracy is tyranny. If the control of all mass media will not suffice, then minorities will be "learnt" to submit! No less important than the final decision is the process through which it is reached. Men are ready to obey decisions to which they were once opposed if they have a fair and full chance to discuss and be heard: they will suspect policies with which they are in agreement if they have reason to feel that the decisions were improperly arrived at.

> . . . what matters most in the tiny democratic societies which we feel to be thoroughly satisfactory forms of government is what comes out of the free give and take of discussion.[10]

It is the full, free, and informed discussion which builds mutual confidence and cements a society, not so much agreement with a given policy.

The point needs no further elaboration, perhaps, except for the fact that in the Church, in the university, in the body politic, many peoples inexperienced in self-government have frequently confused parliamentarianism with democracy as a "way of life," with fatal results. Not so the great pioneers of responsible self-government! No

8 See my *Landgraf Philipp und die Toleranz* (Bad Nauheim: Christian Verlag, 1957) 26-30.

9 See discussion in *Ansätze* (1955), Nr. 3, no pagination.

10 A. D. Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929) 36.

less a champion of English liberties than William Godwin was resolutely opposed to universal suffrage on the grounds that stress upon it led men away from the real source of civic strength: open discussion.

> The free man communicates with his neighbor, not in corners and concealed places, but in market-places and scenes of public resort; and it is thus that the sacred spark is caught from man to man, till all are inspired with a common flame. Communication and publicity are of the essence of liberty; it is the air they breathe; and without it they die.
>
> . . . the principle of the institution of ballot is to teach men to perform their best actions under the cloak of concealment.
>
> We are to begin, it seems, with concealing from our landlord, or our opulent neighbor, our political determinations; and so his corrupt influence will be broken, and the humblest individual will be safe in doing that which his honest and unbiased feelings may prompt him to do.
>
> No: This is not the way in which the enemy of the souls of men is to be defeated. We must begin not with the confession of our faint-heartedness and our cowardice. A quiet, sober, unaltered frame of judgment, that insults no one, that has in it nothing violent, brutal and defying, is the frame that becomes us. If I would teach another man, superior in rank, how he ought to construe and decide upon the conduct I hold, I must begin by making that conduct explicit.
>
> The institution of ballot is the fruitful parent of ambiguities, equivocations and lies without number.[11]

The "People's Democracies" are fraudulent not because they have no honest mandate, although that is probably a fact too, but because they prohibit or inhibit open discussion which alone can satisfy the souls of men. By the same token, perfect confidence and a reasonable consensus may obtain without any vote being taken at all. A good example would be in the casting of lots in some churches, for the selection of a bishop. Is this procedure "undemocratic"? Quite the contary: the most perfectly democratic group is precisely that situation where it is unnecessary to count heads because the "sense of the meeting" is already known. I know of no more perfect example of elementary democracy than that decision-making process which a student of the sociology of religion reported some years ago of the Hutterite communities in the Dakotas. He had asked the venerable "Diener des Wortes" how problems were settled, and received the following classical reply:

> I put questions to the members. If anybody is against it, he is to say so. They talk it up in small groups. If the (whole) group gets

11 William Godwin, *Thoughts on Man* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1831) 319, 321, 324-325 in Essay XVII: "Of Ballot."

> quiet, then it means, "yes." I can tell by the quietness whether they are for it.[12]

This is apostolic decision-making. This is to practice discipline arrived at by open discussion, study of the Bible and the experience of the Church, common prayer to Him who speaks. This is the practice of the presence of the Spirit, not in the sub-Christian sense of individual mysticism but in the fullness of life in the Church of which Jesus Christ is the Head and the Holy Spirit the Governor.

The Rule of Consensus and Public Affairs

I have deliberately made a good deal of illustrations outside the Church as well as within, because I believe that this is the true nexus between the style of life in the community of believers and the style of life in the open society. A great real of confusion has been spread by well-meaning people who have attempted to prove an identity of values between Christianity and democracy, and this type of reasoning is, over generations, as dangerous as other types of culture-religion. Eleanor Roosevelt once wrote, in a book which concluded that the raising of the living standard was the goal of Christ:

> The citizens of Democracy must model themselves on the best and most unselfish life we have known in history. They may not all believe in Christ's divinity, though many will; but His life is important simply because it becomes a shining beacon of what success means. If we once establish this human standard as a measure of success, the future of Democracy is secure.[13]

About the same time another enlightened social thinker, Herbert Agar, wrote a book flatly identifying the Holy Spirit with the cultural spirit of the American republic. He proposed that the churches should be judged by the following principle:

> The task is here to determine what religious and ethical traditions are of greater or lesser value for the preservation and growth of the democratic principle.[14]

At the Second Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith (New York, 1944), another prophet of confusion took the line of the Spiritualizers which leads to the "withering away of the Church":

> The democratic emphasis in the matter of religion ought not to be upon beliefs and dogma, but upon what effects in human relationships the beliefs and dogma have. The democratic approach,

12 Lee Emerson Deets, *The Hutterites: A Study in Social Cohesion* (Gettysburg, Penna.: privately printed, 1939) 35.

13 Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Moral Basis of Democracy* (New York: Howell, Soskin & Co., 1940) 57.

14 Herbert Agar et al., *The City of Man: A Declaration on World Democracy* (New York: Viking Press, 1940) 87.

> therefore, to this field, I think, could in a way reveal common denominators among all the creeds and all of the religions. It could very well focus on the necessity of promoting the good society. . . .[15]

All of this is the language of unbelief. Christianity does not exist or cease to exist for the service of "the spirit of democracy" (whatever that may mean at a given point)! And, to paraphrase the words of a famous European, we are not called into the priesthood of all believers to preside over the liquidation of the Christian Church!

There is, nevertheless, a nexus between the Free Church and the Free Society, and it lies precisely at the method used in decision-making. Americans generally have believed that, even when the religious covenant and the civil covenant were separated and parallel to each other—a step taken after 175 years of established churches in the American colonies, men could turn in Town Meeting as readily as in Church Meeting to discuss and discover the answers which they needed to the problems at hand. The earlier restraint of Mennonites, for example, toward this view of government was due to two factors: (1) in their history under persecution they had known two types of government only—that which persecuted, and that which tolerated (probably temporarily), and they were inexperienced in the third and newer type: that in which every citizen has a part in decision-making in government; (2) the unexpressed conviction that the style of apostolic decision-making would only function among baptized believers. Rethinking the relationship to the frame of government founded in self-government is one of the major issues before American Mennonites today. The rise of modern democracy, in the Anglo-Saxon sense of a "problem-solving process," a "way of life," occurred when the lessons learned in the religious society and church meeting were secularized," i.e., carried over into the so-called "secular" realm of politics, economics, education, social relations. The transition was completed when it was recognized that full, free, and informed discussion could not be maintained in a state-church setting. The true Church could not be faithful to her calling if forces unbaptized by the Spirit were allowed to overrule decisions reached in the meeting. The government could not properly function if victimized by the court politics of what a devout American Roman Catholic has recently termed "that enduringly mischievous combination—a coalition of prelates and politicians."[16] While champions of the New

15 Alain Locke, "The Teaching of Dogmatic Religion," in *The Authoritarian Attempt to Capture Education* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945) 144.

16 Philip Scharper, "What a Modern Catholic Believes," 218 *Harper's Magazine* (March 1959) 1306:40-49. This was part of a series of four statements of faith by agnostic, Catholic, Jew, and Protestant. It is significant for the state of religion in America that the agnostic's Bekenntnis never emerged from the world of the nineteenth century and ended in a grim Stoicism: ". . . put into it all you have got, and live and, if possible, die with some measure

England standing order frankly defended coercion,[17] William Penn took his stand on the old Täufer ground that that service only is pleasing to God which is voluntary and uncoerced. The greatest service of Roger Williams, whom Cotton Mather denounced as "the first rebel against the divine Church order established in the wilderness," was in demonstrating the possibility of founding a commonwealth in which liberty of conscience could be permitted without loosening the bonds of civil society. What took place was not so much "separation of Church and State," an inaccurate and misleading phrase, as it was separation of the religious from the civil covenant. But the decision-making process in both settings seemed very much alike, and men met as laymen or as fellow-citizens, respectively, in the conviction that He who speaks would give them the needed answers if they earnestly sought to know His will.

The concern for a pattern of religious liberty which would make a proper style of decision-making possible, which would give free channel to the governance of the Holy Spirit in the meeting, goes far back in Free Church history. It was a basic part of the Täufer restitution of the true Church. Simon Stumpf was reported to have told the Zürich Town Council—

> A special group of people and kind of Church was to be raised up, with Christian people inside, living holy lives, believing the Gospel and following it, having nothing to do with tithes and usury, having all things in common, and, in addition, a Christian civic council was to be established.[18]

The Reformers thought he was a revolutionary, and identified the Swiss Brethren with the Zwickau Prophets and Thomas Müntzer. Stumpf was, however, a Bible-believing nonresistant like his co-believers, who had a vision of the restored New Testament church government and accompanied it with some thoughts about responsible civil government as well. There were discussions appropriate to one setting and situation which were not rightly held in the other.

The relation between decision-making by the rule of consensus in the congregation and decision-making by open discussion in the body politic has never been better stated than in John Wise's *A*

of nobility." Walter Kaufmann, "The Faith of a Heretic," 218 *Harper's Magazine* (February 1959) 1305:33-39, 39. The Roman Catholic testimony was fine, the Jewish excellent: "Given the freedom to choose [he was referring to his civic right—F.H.L.] I have decided to embrace Judaism. I have not done so out of loyalty to the Jewish people or the Jewish state. My choice was religious. I chose to believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; to acknowledge the law of Moses as the Word of God; to accept the people of Israel as the holy instrument of divine fulfillment; to await the coming of the Messiah and the redemption of history." Arthur A. Cohen, "Why I Chose to Be a Jew," 218 *Harper's Magazine* (April 1959) 1307: 61-66, 61. The Protestant statement was intellectually feeble and theologically confused. William Warren Bartley III, "I Call Myself a Protestant," 218 *Harper's Magazine* (May 1959), 1308:49-56.

17 See Nathaniel Ward's "Against Toleration. 1647," discussed in Norman Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 195) 31 ff.

18 Emil Egli, *op. cit.*, I, 308.

Vindication of the Government of the New-England Churches. . . . 1717. He begins his tract by dividing all Christian history into three periods, according to the primitivist motif.

> 1. The first Division contains the first Three hundred years of Christianity, which may be accounted the most Refined and purest Time, both as to Faith and Manners, that the Christian Church has been honoured with; for that within this space, is contained the Ministry of the Apostles and Holy Evangelists, and other Eminent Persons Authorized by them; and such others who succeeded in Office-Trust through the several Ages, within the space before named. This was the time of an Immense Effusion of the Spirit of God upon the World, when there was such a Flux and Inundation of the Waters from the Sanctuary, mentioned, *Ezek.* 47. This was the Age of Miracles; A time of Extraordinary Gifts, and when Grace and true Piety was in the greatest Elevation. Christian Religion was now a Dangerous Business; Every Man that took it up, lays down his Life, Honour and Fortune at Stake; He that owns Christ, must bid defience to all the Celebrated Deities of the Roman Empire; and thereby Run Counter to the Religion of the Imperial Court. So that Rationally we may expect to find the Churches of Christ in the purest Capacity they were ever in; In all points, both of Principles and Practice. That whatever their Government was if they continue the same from the days of the Apostles, we may fairly conclude it to be Authentick, and Agreeable with their Grand & Original Copy.

There occurs then the Fall of the Church under Constantine.

> 2. The Second Grand Division of Time, contains the space of the next Twelve hundred years, downward, more or less: within which Circuit is included the Commencement, and Progress of a Direful Apostacy, both as to Worship, and Government in the Churches . . . the Christian World became a Notorious Apostate.

Finally, there occurs the Protestant Reformation. But the Restitution was incomplete until the rise of congregational principles in New England. Wise leaves no doubt but that democratic principles, in which the whole people participate in the decision-making discussions, are to apply both within the Church and without. This was the form of government which Christ established among His people, and

> he must needs be presumed to have made choice of that Government as should least Expose his People to Hazard, either from the Fraud, or Arbitrary measures of particular men.[19]

Romanticization of national destiny is one of the most common of human faults, and Americans have had their fill of it. Thomas Jefferson, author of the great Virginia Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, proposed for the Great Seal of the United States a portrayal of "the children of Israel, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire

19 Recently reissued, with an Introduction by Perry Miller, by the Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, Gainsville, Fla., 1958, pp. 3-4 5, 62.

by night."[20] We do not have to share John Wise's use of the Constantinian myth or Thomas Jefferson's view of the American exodus from Europe, however, to see the intimate relation which exists between the place of discussion in the decision-making process and the structure of religious voluntaryism and pluralism which now exists in the American republic. The logic of the development is clear: that, although we know the Messiah's name and hold to the great confessions of our fathers, we American Protestants believe God is more pleased and better served by a believing Jew or Roman Catholic than He is by a man who is Protestant solely by tradition or by compulsion. The great Swiss-born, German-educated church historian, Philipp Schaff, summarized the historical development succinctly:

> The United States furnished the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion, which was justly regarded by all older governments as the chief support of public morality, order, peace, and prosperity.[21]

On another occasion, comparing the American and Continental patterns, he concluded that "the glory of America is a free Christianity, independent of the secular government, and supported by the voluntary contributions of a free people," and that "that is one of the greatest facts in modern history."[22] There are deep reasons for maintaining that lay initiative in the Church and civic initiative in society are intimately related to each other, and that pilgrim church (*ecclesia viatorum*) and open society complement each other. All the more ironical, therefore, is the fact that precisely at the time when our European brethren are discovering new ways of implementing the mobility, integrity, and discipline of a rediscovered Church, our major American denominations are settling comfortably into the status of religious establishments (social and suburban, if not legal).[23] This is the major reason why we Americans need to study and understand as best we can the recent history of the European churches, from the *Apologetische Centrale* to Friedewald, from Barmen to the 1959 *Kirchentag* at Munich, from the *Christliche Studentenbewegungen* to Bad Boll, from the *Bekennende Kirche* to *Kerk en Wereld*. We still live in an intact, an unbroken society, where sincere Christians can still speak of "Christian civili-

20 Cited in Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952) 70.

21 Philip Schaff, *Church and State in the United States* (N.Y. & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888) 23.

22 Philip Schaff, *Germany: Its Universities, Theology, and Religion. . . .* (Phila. & N.Y.: Lindsay and Blakiston and Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857) 105.

23 Discussed in my *The Free Church* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1957), Chapter IV; German edition, Christian-Verlag, Bad Nauheim.

zation," "Christian culture," "Christian values," and mean it; our brethren in Europe have a needed word for us about the deeper things of our peace.

There remains, in the transfer of decision-making procedures from the church meeting into political and educational and social affairs, an unresolved theological issue: the extent to which genuine discussion may take place, and men may expect the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in a "mixed" assembly of believers and nonbelievers. This question was faced early by Mennonites, and generally resolved by stressing the church covenant and standing at a distance from the political. The question was faced early in New England: when compulsion failed, the "Half-Way Covenant" was introduced—a measure of latitudinarian practice necessary to both church and state, with an established church. Hendrik Kraemer has recently discussed the same issue, in an article in *Wending*.[24] Related to it is the question whether the decision-making process will "work" in a meeting where men have forgotten Who is truly the Author of the order they seek. The interpenetration has been carried so far in America, at least, that even major governmental agencies have on occasion used the "sense of the meeting" style of decision-making. As over against "compromise" and the abuses of majority-minority rule, the Acheson-Lilienthal Atomic Energy Commission, the La-Follette-Monroney Committee (1948-49), the Senate Republican Conference under the Chairmanship of Senator Millikan, the Committee on Economic Development, the First National Conference on Aging (held in August 1950 under Federal Security Agency auspices), and others too numerous to mention, have practiced that democratic style of decision-making which accents the full participation of those responsible, and made decisions by consensus. A by-law of the International Monetary Fund reads: "The Chairman will ordinarily ascertain the sense of the meeting in lieu of a formal vote."[25] At this point it can only be said that, as the benches in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam throw the persons forward in the posture of prayer whether he will or not, so careful attention to the process of true discussion leading to consensus seems to produce certain results even among those who may have forgotten its origin and purpose.

The Rediscovery of the Laity

If the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been the neglected teaching of Protestantism, the layman has come to be the forgotten man.

24 Hendrik Kraemer, "Over de mogelijkheid van dialoog met de 'ongelovige,'" XIII *Wending* (1959) 11:724-66.

25 Discussed in Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1958) 220 f.

As Reinold von Thadden has said, the *Pastorenkirche* has met the layman defensively, by taking his questions, rephrasing them in terms of questions to which the Church has long had answers, and giving back answers to questions which the layman never asked. The tendency of the institution, even that which has a strong tradition of lay initiative, is to develop laymen marked by docility and submission. The laymen, unless served by a ministry which has an eye to the whole Church, catholic and universal, tends to become like the cormorant used by some Orientals for fishing purposes. A ring is placed about the bird's neck, loose enough to allow breathing but too tight to permit swallowing. The bird catches fish, and the owner takes the fish which he cannot swallow and digest. Laymen, like students, may be like that—returning relatively untouched that which has been received, to him who has a rope about his neck.

In discussion which is open to all concerned, the very process of discussing creates the will which can make the agreed decision binding and operative. In the situation where the layman discusses, helps to interpret the truth as it is revealed, there is conscious appropriation on his part. He digests and builds into his own life—as can never happen with the word which is merely audited—that which is the common discovery and experience of the group. It is particularly important that this process should be carried on in times of crisis, when old adjustments are shattered and new *Gesellschaftsordnungen* have not yet emerged. This comes out very clearly in the vision of the Church as the whole people of God which emerged during the Church struggle.

> Thus right in the middle of all these needs and tasks and gifts, the New Testament affirmations concerning the Church began to speak to us in an entirely new way and to show us our path.
>
> It is an *ecclesia viatorum,* a Church on a pilgrimage towards a Kingdom which is its future goal.[26]

When the first major international conference was held after the war on the layman's Christian vocation, Dr. Willem Kist outlined the imperatives of the new situation:

> 1. The Apostolate is the Essence of the Church.
> 2. The Apostolate is the Salvation of the Church.
> 3. The Apostolate is not only an appeal to personal conversion, but also an appeal for subordinating social structures to the Word of God.
> 4. The Church needs a Centre for practising her Apostolate.
> 5. This Apostolate Centre must be an organ of the Church.[27]

26 E. Schlink, "The Lutheran Churches (a) Germany," in R. Newton Flew, ed., *The Nature of the Church* (London: S. C. M. Press, 1952) 57, 75.

27 *Professional Life as Christian Vocation:* Papers of the Ecumenical Institute, No. III (Geneva: Oikumene, n.d.) 26-27.

We see here the characteristic notes of the newer movements which have flowered in the rubble of Christendom: accent on the apostolate of the laity, accent on the centrality of the Church, accent on the structures which condition and often control human society. The laymen at the conference, for their part, came out very openly for the position that the crisis could not be resolved through preaching or through known and readily available answers. Only the most open and earnest discussions could bring again order out of chaos, clarity out of confusion. Since that time the Lay Institutes have produced and published some of the finest literature available on the discussion method,[28] and in addition other methods of articulating and expressing the community concerns have been developed (such as mime, pantomime and story-mime at Oud Poelgeest). Above all, the attention has been directed to the issue which J. H. Oldham raised at Oxford in 1937, the matter which was given dramatic attention at Amsterdam in 1948: "the significance of the laity in the Church," "the witness of a dedicated laity in the world." And the new movements are beginning not only to talk about the layman and his problems but to allow the layman himself to speak. The role of the "lay theologian" and "teaching elder" in a healthy Christian community is being rediscovered—his role as subject, and not object alone. The renewal of the Church, where it is occurring, comes in the meeting of the two dimensions of the *communio sanctorum:* in the setting of the whole Christian people which includes all believing people of the whole world, in the setting which transcends generations as well as nations and includes those of the past who have died in the faith. "Fundamentally, there is but one valid theology of the laity; that is to say, a whole ecclesiology."[29]

We are led back to the discussion of the nature of the church. It is perhaps not too early to assert that careful attention to the decision-making process which includes full and informed discussion is the particular characteristic of a church which takes the laity seriously. If decision on basic matters, whether the matter at hand involves theological, ethical, moral or organizational discipline, is to be reached by a small ruling group, by professional theologians and canon lawyers, or perhaps by powers outside the Christian Church entirely, then there is no foundation for discussion. If, however, the whole Church is to be enlisted, then the process of reaching and sustaining the discipline is also the process of enlisting the whole

28 For example, Eberhard Müller, *Die Kunst der Gesprächsführung* (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1954): Hans Rudolf Müller-Schwefe, *Die Stunde des Gesprächs* (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1956).

29 Y. Congar, quoted in Hendrik Kraemer, *A Theology of the Laity* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958) 74.

laos theou in the developing of the consensus. The degree to which, four and a quarter centuries after the Protestant Reformation, the consciousness of this truth has still to penetrate Christendom as a whole is revealed by the fact that Professor Kraemer could open his recent Hulsean Lectures on *A Theology of the Laity* with the statement—

> The laity or the body of lay membership of the Church has never in Church History enjoyed the distinction of being treated with care and thoroughness as a matter of specific theological importance or significance.[30]

Church history has been written, as was general history for centuries, as the chronicles of the dramatic incidents in the lives of great men. Church history is nevertheless the history of the whole Israel of God, and its proper object is the day-to-day life of the ordinary communicant and believer in the generations of the spiritual warfare and expansion of the Church. Church history, like theology, is just beginning to realize the implications of the New Testament teaching about the nature of the Church. But whether her intellectuals have caught the point or not, the Church has continued to be that body of people of whom Jesus Christ was the head and whose principle of governance and discipline is best interpreted in terms of the truth contained in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The Problem of Authority and Tradition

It was emphasized earlier that the purpose of discussion, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is to arrive at and hold to disciplines which truly reflect the will of God as understood by the whole Church of all nations and all generations. The concept of the *pleroma* of the Church is particularly strong in Orthodox theology,[31] but it is of the essence for all of our churches. When a congregation confronts a decision and is called to witness, it is representing (*stellvertretend für) in loco* the whole catholic church. God's Word and Will is revealed not in timeless truths and speculative systems; neither is He found in "teachings" or "values" good for all times and places. His Will is revealed at the point of choice,[32] to specific men at specific times faced with specific issues. Here again we see the imperative necessity for the common study, common prayer and fraternal discussion among co-believers. For if Christianity is a New Law or a better philosophical system then its interpretation is reserved to

30 Hendrik Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
32 Cf. discussion in Emil Brunner, *The Theology of Crisis* (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), pp. 34 f. Note Rudolf Pfisterer, "Le Message de Dietrich Bonhoeffer," 56 *Foi et Vie* (1958) 1:24-33. His message "consiste dans la transmission de la parole de Dieu d'une manière concrete. C'est pourquoi il ne se contente par l'evoquer la foi,—non: la foi est quelquefois en danger de passer pour une vérité abstraite!" (p. 33).

specialists, rabbis applying a new Torah. In some sections of Protestantism the identification of the Canon itself with the Word of God has led to a conflict between the word of God as obedience to the letter, and the living Word— a false dichotomy between legalism and inspiration, discipline and obedience. By this false dialectic the faith of a people becomes the religion of a Sanhedrin, and the vital reality of the New Covenant in God's continuing work in history becomes displaced by a *Lex Christi* interpreted as a Torah.[33] If the Christians, however, are they who wait upon the Lord, who worship and serve Him who acts and speaks, they know that the Word creates the Church while the Church proclaims the Word and that neither can live without the other. The very same Spirit who converts the soul and gives hearing to the ears and understanding to the heart also chastens and governs and disciplines those who bear the Name. And it is the same Spirit who makes the scandal and offense a word of salvation, the same to whom they turn for guidance in the daily decisions of discipleship.

When a congregation or association of congregations faces decisions they must take into their discussion the fraternal testimony of Christians in other lands and places, for they are representing not themselves or their own interests but the one, holy, catholic church. The congregation may not wilfully decide in terms of what they want themselves: the universal church discusses with them. The question for a church in Augusta, Georgia, cannot be, "What will be most pleasing and easiest for us?" Far more important is the question: "What does the whole Church expect of us in this situation?" For back of this lies the prior query: "What is the will of God for His people in this situation?" If they conclude, as a Presbyterian congregation recently did, that "the voice of the pulpit should be the voice of the congregation," they are guilty of heresy of the gravest sort. For the words which are spoken from the pulpit can serve but one proper purpose: spoken to the condition of those present, they are to help a people who bear the Name to search out and to obey the will of God. That is the only purpose of discussion, a discussion in which the whole Church joins, silent or speaking.

The second dimension is equally important: the discussion which takes place with those of other generations who have died in the faith, the dialogue with the past. Here we discover the true authority of tradition, as transmitted to us in the creeds and confessions, the ethical and moral disciplines, the organizational procedures of the churches in which we live. Our discussions are not alone

33 Eric Voegelin, *Order and History*, I: *Israel and Revelation* (Baton Rouge, La.: La. State Univ. Press, 1956) 366.

with those present and speaking: our fathers "speak" to us, as it were, in the intellectual and concrete structures which we inherit from them. The Christian Church—unlike the totalitarian pseudo-religions which strive to drive a wedge between generations—stands upon the Covenant of Fathers and Sons. As so wonderfully symbolized in the bronze, "Die Generationen," which stands in the aula at Bad Boll Evangelical Academy, our fellowship transcends the time barriers of generations as well as the limits of present space. Tradition so conceived is not the dead hand of the past pressing down upon the living present, but that which our fathers have left to us as their testimony as to how Christians should live and think and act. And this "word" which is "spoken" to us is the tradition which we transmute and transmit to our children and children's children. It had when first reported precisely the binding authority which the consensus of believers accorded it, and so it has for us.

> . . . what cannot be preached in the pulpit ought not to be taught in a confession of faith, either expressly or by fair logical inference. On the other hand, what is taught in the confession ought to be preached in the pulpit.[34]

Nothing is more pitiable than that shallow contemporaneity which regards all past "findings" as negligible. Nothing is more disreputable than the vain repetition of words and postures which have long since lost their true authority and meaning.

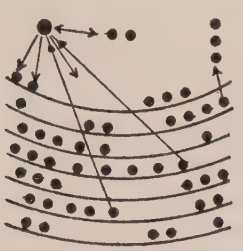
Group Structure and Group Function

Most of us have the memory of some completely satisfactory fellowship, in which members meant what they said and were silent when they could not express a judgment which was also a matter of witness. Frequently the contrast between these simple relations and the frustrating and unsatisfactory nature of many social and religious and political structures has been cast in terms of the contrast between the Lost Paradise and complex, corrupted civilization. When we reflect on it, however, the real contrast is not between various stages of racial memory, but between the permissive relations which obtain in the small face-to-face group and the large and impersonal assemblies in which we spend most of our days.

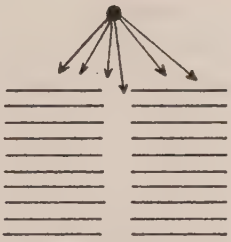
With the help of simple symbols we may remind ourselves quickly of the different group relations to which we are accustomed. Type A is the face-to-face group, circular in formation and style of discussion—the normal group of close committee work, the "fellowship group," the cell group, the *Hauskreis*. Discussion is informal and direct. No votes are taken: decision is by the "sense of the meeting."

34 The position of Philip Schaff, as stated in the biography by his son, David A. Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897) 426.

Type A



Type B



Type C

The function of leadership is subdued. Membership does not fluctuate, though it may grow. Inter-personal relations are intense, loyalty is great. Group pressure is inobtrusive in the main, but generally decisive. First names may be used. This is the size and style of the Methodist Class Meeting, of which John Wesley wrote—

> I have found by experience that one of these members has learned more from one hour's discourse than from ten years' public preaching.[35]

This is the type of group of which President Eliot of Harvard University wrote, in discussing university administration:

> The best number of members for a University's principle governing board is seven: because that number of men can sit round a small table, talk with each other informally without waste of words or any display or pretence, provide an adequate diversity of points of view and modes of dealing with the subject in hand, and yet be prompt and efficient in the despatch of business. In a board of seven the different professions and callings can be sufficiently represented.[36]

Type B is the semi-structured group, with brief constitution and rule-of-thumb procedures. Votes are sometimes taken, minutes are kept "for the record." The number of participants may run from 18 to 20 up to as many as 65 or 70, depending upon the number of first names the president and secretary can hold in their heads. A few of those in the meeting will be "wearing masks"; the open countenance of the smaller group is no longer enforceable. Whereas the smaller group's form is circular, with a close network of discussion binding the members, in Type B there may be some silent and an occasional isolate. Membership fluctuates in attendance, meetings are generally less frequent. Leadership types are beginning to emerge, a "starring" process has begun in which smaller cliques or friendship groups are mildly evident. The group is still able to act as a whole, most discussions produce a consensus.

Type C is the assembly situation, and the numbers involved may run into hundreds. Little real work can be done on the floor of the

35 *The Works of John Wesley . . .* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publ. House, 1959), V, 250.

36 Cited and discussed in A. D. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

meeting; most real discussion occurs in structured or spontaneous committee work behind the scenes. Under most circumstances a fair proportion of those present will be "wearing masks"; many will not know each other except in passing, and the images which they have of each other may have little relationship to reality. Constitutional procedures, written or unwritten, are thoroughly fixed, and the rules governing parliamentary operation are in effect. Careful records are kept, and they may reveal the existence of several smaller caucuses functioning within the larger structure. When discussion does occur, the process is usually limited to question-and-answer patterns. Voting is necessary, and heads are carefully counted. Since isolates are fairly numerous, the results may sometimes be a surprise to even the careful leader. Loyalty to the group, where it is strong, must be enforced by other factors (political, social, economic, cultural)—or by breaking down the larger meeting into a network of primary groups of the Type A style. Whereas in the Type A group all are plainly responsible for the decisions which are reached, in the Type C setting issues may be rushed or commitments made without adequate consideration of the alternatives. If the alienation between group and officers proceeds far enough, those holding office may be made scape-goats for mistakes for which the group in fact shares the blame. First names, if used, are in bad taste, although in some situations where the impress of relations in Type A group is still strong, the prefix "Brother" may be common.

The functions which can be performed by these three types of groups are quite different, and all three are necessary in the church. Many of our difficulties, as in the youth and student work, of the larger denominations come about because we are not clear as to our possibilities in various sized and styled groups. Type A, for example, is far more resistant to outside disintegrative forces than Type C: the latter is easily penetrated and destroyed. Type A is the effective size and style for group therapy of most types. It is also the group in which the intensity of "we-feeling" contributes most readily to the acceptance of new values, new motivations, new commitments.[37] In societies where culture-religion has become dominant, there is a marked tendency for groupings to gravitate toward the C Type, which has the effect—among other things—of reducing the speed with

37 On sociometric choices, networks and the starring process, the pioneer study was J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publ. Co., 1934). The "Bennington College" study, which first demonstrated the relationship of student friendship groups to attitude and opinion changes, was Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change: Attitude Formation in a Student Community* (N.Y.: Dryden Press, 1943), "It is the community role which mediates between social attitudes and other personality characteristics" (p. 169). The essay on the relationship of heightened "we-feeling" to acceptance of new values is by Kurt Lewin, "the father of social psychology," in *Resolving Social Conflicts* (N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1948), Ch. IV.

which change can be made in emergency circumstances. The cathedral (as popularly conceived) is the perfect Type C situation. Whereas "we-feeling" is strong in Type A groupings, in Type C setting there is a marked tendency to individualism and fragmentation. Type A is the unit of discipline; in the Type C there may be a large percentage of fellow-travelers. The emphasis in the former unit is upon education; in the latter it must be more upon propaganda, for the sake of the tares mixed in with the wheat.

Discussion in Depth

When we draw the diagrams in this fashion we see immediately that a richer experience of discussion leading to consensus is possible in Type A than in Type C. And a religious movement which has allowed itself to concentrate exclusively on the large public meeting and ignore the "house-church" and family-centered religion will not for long satisfy the needs of its people. They will wander easily into other associations which more adequately fill the felt needs, or they will form voluntary and generally informal nuclei within the larger body. It is the small group of A Type by which we instinctively judge large scale religious and political institutions, and find them wanting. It is the memory of the utterly satisfactory inter-personal relations in Type A group which frustrates us when we are confronted by assemblies which only crudely approximate consensus in their affairs—unless we thoroughly understand the possibilities and the limitations of various types of group structure. The traditional reaction of many church bodies which have successfully maintained the small group relations within their own ranks has been to avoid the large and frustrating assemblies of people entirely, but this response is now the subject of fresh debate and self-examination.

When discussion is carried on in depth in Type A group, a member may from time to time feel that the decision reached was not the best one. This does not bother him, particularly, for he knows at heart that various alternatives were thoroughly reviewed and the one chosen which satisfied the concerns of a number of reasonable people. Moreover, he is aware of his own fallibility: he remembers that he has been wrong before when they were right. Above all, he recalls that there were many times when no one, before the group came together, could see a way forward, and that a way was nevertheless given them. If he is a Christian, he will know that the mysterious creativity evident is not of his own individual strength, nor derived from the combined natural resources of the members of the group, but rather to be attributed to Him who gives guidance if men will turn to Him. When all was yet chaos, without form, He spoke

and Order appeared above the face of the waters. In mixed assemblies of people rightly turned toward Him and His law, God the Creator properly may be addressed just as in the fellowship of believers God the Holy Spirit is present and guiding. In spite of their previous experience with governments which ruled almost exclusively by violence or implied violence, Mennonites should not be surprised to note that when the Divine breakthrough occurs, He is the same God—whether creating or redeeming and creating anew, the God of nations and generations whose faithfulness is from everlasting to everlasting.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 74)

the concluding volume of that work in August 1959. It is here reprinted as typical of the materials of this type which the *Encyclopedia* has made available. Not meant to be exhaustive, it yet gives all the essential material needed for the general understanding of the Anabaptist movement in that important region, including an extensive bibliography.

THE GREAT MIGRATION OF EIGHTEEN THOUSAND MENNONITES FROM RUSSIA TO the prairie states and provinces in the seventies of the last century, not as refugees, but in an orderly mass movement of organized communities and families over a period of ten years, has been often and thoroughly treated as a major Mennonite resettlement experience, and its basic causes and consequences have been fully expounded. But the human reaction of the new settlers to the American frontier has received little notice in scholarly studies. Melvin Gingerich has brought together an authentic body of material from sources both published and unpublished, which enable a close-up "inside" look at the way in which the first generation of newcomers mastered their problems of frontier living, with adjustment to climate, grasshoppers, English-speaking oxen, primitive living conditions, strange neighbors, and what not. That they speedily mastered their problems and made an excellent adjustment is clear. It is no wonder that these capable and sturdy Dutch-Prussian-Russian farmer newcomers established such strong and viable communities and churches, when one sees with what faith in God, what strong right arm labor, and what intelligent adaptation they conquered the frontier. "Strange" people they truly were.

* * *

Note: Beginning with January 1960, Melvin Gingerich replaces Hans Hillerbrand as book review editor.

CAESAR VON ARX AND HIS ANABAPTIST DRAMA: "BRUEDER IN CHRISTO"

GLORIA WINSLOW*

I. The Man

In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* published in 1950, Ernst Alker refers to the unique position occupied by Swiss literature during the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. Political events in Germany in the thirties, followed by military and economic catastrophe, resulted in the loss or deflection of most of the promising literary talents of Germany. Of all the German-speaking areas in Europe, only German Switzerland provided a relatively stable atmosphere in which literature could follow a continuous line of development.[1]

The outstanding contribution of Swiss literature during this period was in the realm of the drama. Among prominent contemporary dramatists Alker lists Jakob Bührer, Friedrich Dürrenmatt, Max Frisch, Oskar Eberle and Cäsar von Arx. Of these, the first chronologically is Cäsar von Arx. As early as 1933, with the appearance of his *Verrat von Novara,* von Arx was widely referred to as the leading contemporary Swiss dramatist. This reputation was subsequently enhanced by the appearance of such dramas as *Der heilige Held* (1936), *Land ohne Himmel* (1943), and *Brüder in Christo* (1947). In 1944 Wilhelm Kosch, in an essay in *Der Wächter,* refers to von Arx as "wohl unbestritten der bedeutendste schweizerische Dramatiker der Gegenwart. . . ."[2] Paul Lang, in his *Schweizer Drama 1914-1944,* writes: "Cäsar von Arx gehört als einziger von allen deutschschweizerischen Theaterschriftstellern der internationalen Klasse an. . . ."[3] Although personally critical of von Arx's work, Lang acknowledges the scope of his achievement in restoring Swiss drama to a position of respect which it had not enjoyed for centuries.

As early as 1917, with the performance in Leipzig of his youthful drama, *Die Rot Schwizerin,* von Arx's reputation spread beyond the borders of Switzerland. *Die Geschichte vom General Johann August Sutter* was widely played in Germany, and *Der Verrat von Novara,*

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1 Ernst Alker, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Stutgart, 1950), II, 307.

2 Wilhelm Kosch, "Cäsar von Arx als Dramatiker," *Der Wächter,* Heft 3, 26. Jahrgang (1944), p. 81.

3 Paul Lang, *Das Schweizer Drama 1914-1944* (Elgg, 1944), p. 83.

translated into nine languages, brought its author international acclaim. Although von Arx's later plays were banned in Germany by the Hitler regime, respect for his work survived the war. In the 1953 edition of *Neue deutsche Biographie* he is referred to as "seit Niklaus Manuel (gest. 1530) der erste namhafte und bedeutende dramatische Autor der Schweiz."[4]

The growth of von Arx's reputation in postwar Germany has been somewhat handicapped by a tendency among critics, both German and Swiss, to regard him primarily as a Swiss national author. A notable exception is E. Max Bräm, who in an essay on the Swiss drama, written in 1954, stresses the fact that von Arx's contribution to literature is not limited by national boundaries. Speaking of von Arx's historical dramas, Bräm writes:

> Dass gerade diese Stücke im Ausland aufgeführt und begriffen wurden, dürfte ein Beweis dafür sein, dass es Cäsar von Arx gelungen ist, schweizerischnationales Denken im Lichte allgemeinmenschlicher Gültigkeit zu gestalten. . . . Jedes ist ein Sinnbild schweizerischen Wesens, nicht mehr lokaler, sondern nationaler und menschlicher Bedeutung.[5]

Cäsar von Arx was born in Basel on May 23, 1895. His father, Alphons von Arx, was a typesetter, a moody, taciturn man, plagued with financial worries, ill health and an abiding dislike for his profession. His mother, Frau Emma von Arx, appears from the descriptions of her son, Cäsar, to have been a kindly, patient woman, who bore her husband's frequent ill-humor with resignation. The family was always in straitened financial circumstances, a result of the father's small income and a series of illnesses and disasters. Of five children, three lived to maturity, Cäsar and two older sisters, Emmy and Fanny. Cäsar, the youngest child, was a frail boy, always subject to illness. The mother at one time spent six months in a tuberculosis sanitorium at Davos, a period to which she referred as the most carefree of her life.

Despite the limitations of poverty, Cäsar von Arx grew up in an atmosphere of books and the theater. As a young man his father's greatest wish had been to continue his education, and although he had been forced to leave the Kantonschule in Solothurn to seek employment, he had always apportioned money from his small salary for the purchase of books and a yearly subscription to the Basel Stadttheater. Years later, after he had become a successful dramatist, Cäsar von Arx recalled his father's contribution to his love for the theater.

4 *Neue deutsche Biographie I* (Berlin, 1953), p. 404.
5 E. Max Bräm, "Schweizerische Literatur der Gegenwart: Das Drama," *Der kleine Bund*, Bern, May 14, 1954.

From the time of his first encounter with *Tell,* when he was little more than nine years old, von Arx's interest was claimed by the drama. Following *Tell,* he read the other plays of Schiller, then Goethe, Kleist, Shakespeare, Hebbel, Grabbe, and Wagner. A highlight of his boyhood was the acquisition of a puppet-theater. In an essay written as an secondary student he describes his enthusiasm as a youthful *regisseur.*

While a student at the Realgymnasium in Basel, von Arx began writing seriously. He arose at dawn and wrote at a kitchen table until time to go to school. In 1912, at the age of seventeen, he completed his first play, *Laupen,* based on an episode from fourteenth century Swiss history. He showed it to his German teacher, Dr. Flatt, who was enthusiastic. A schoolmate, Philipp Strübin, composed a musical accompaniment, and on June 8, 1914, *Laupen* was performed at the Basel Stadttheater by pupils of the Oberrealschule and Höhere Töchterschule. The performance was a success and the young dramatist received his first enthusiastic press review. A further honor was accorded the young author; he and the entire troop of performers were invited by the officials of the Landesausstellung in Bern to give a performance. Here they were again given an enthusiastic ovation and Cäsar, in a borrowed suit, rode through the streets of Bern beside the director of the Landesausstellung and other dignitaries.

This triumphant occasion was followed by misfortune. Shortly after the Bern performance of *Laupen,* von Arx was stricken with a severe intestinal infection. It brought him near death and its effects remained with him throughout his life.

In 1915 he passed the Matura, the Swiss examination at the close of secondary school education, and matriculated in the philosophical historical division of the University of Basel. As a university student he retained his absorbing interest in the theater. He directed student dramatic productions and completed, in 1917, a five-act historical play, *Die Rot Schwizerin.*

The year 1917 was a decisive one for von Arx. On December 14 his mother died. His depression was so severe that his relatives feared for his life and his father commented that he hoped no such severe emotional shock would again befall him. The family was then separated: the father went to live with the married daughter, Fanny, and Cäsar and his sister Emma rented a small three-room apartment in Basel. From financial necessity Cäsar was forced to terminate his studies at the University of Basel and seek employment. He looked for a position in the theater and was successful in obtaining an appointment as stage-manager at the Basel Stadttheater.

His new position gave von Arx valuable experience for his future work as a dramatist. He supplemented his purely literary knowledge of the theater with a thorough understanding of its technical aspects. Professionally he was successful and was advanced to the position of director. During this period he wrote no plays. Apparently he was absorbed with the technical problems of the theater, and doubtless his professional duties left him little free time. His writing was limited to the reworking of five older works, all dating from the Renaissance period. On May 7, 1918, on the occasion of a Theater-Verein evening in the Stadttheater, he gave a talk on the Swiss theater. As illustrations he used two Fastnachtspiele which he had reworked: Niklaus Manuel's *Elsli Tragdenknaben* and Tobias Stimmer's *Die Comedie von den beiden Eheleuten.* The audience was enthusiastic and on December 17, 1919, he again held a literary evening in the Stadttheater. For this occasion he had reworked two Legendenspiele: *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn,* by Hans Salat, and *Das Spiel vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus,* by an unknown author. During the year 1919 he also revised *Von fünferlei Betrachtnis,* a play on the Everyman theme written by Johannes Kolros in 1532. In late fall of 1919 he received word that the Städtische Bühnen in Leipzig had accepted his *Die Rot Schwizerin.*

In the fall of 1920 von Arx left the Basler Stadttheater for the Städtische Bühnen in Leipzig, where he began his duties as dramaturgist on November 20. As at Basel, von Arx was successful professionally in Leipzig and was advanced to the position of *regisseur.* His reputation grew with the performance, on April 9, 1921, of his *Die Rot Schwizerin.* He was always happy to return to Switzerland, however, and spent all of his vacations there. On one such occasion, in 1922, he received a commission to write a "Festspiel" for the city Solothurn, the capital city of his native canton Solothurn. The result, *Festspiel zur Gründungsfeier der Schützengesellschaft der Stadt Solothurn, 1520-1922,* was the first of many Festspiele von Arx was to write. Throughout his life he devoted the same care to the creation of a *Festspiel* that he did to his most ambitious plays, sometimes spending as much as a year in the preparation of one work. The Solothurn Festspiel, performed in 1922, was warmly received, and the following year von Arx was one of several to submit a plan for a proposed Festspiel for the Eidgenössische Schützenfest at Aarau in 1924. When his sketch was accepted von Arx, hopeful for a career in Switzerland, terminated his contract in Leipzig in the spring of 1923 and settled in the village of Niedererlinsbach, near Aarau. Niedererlinsbach was the home of his maternal grandparents and he had often spent vacations there as a child.

On April 22, 1924, von Arx married Gertrud Häfelin, of Engelberg. The summer of 1924 was devoted to the staging of his Aarau Festspiel, *Die Schweizer,* which made his name known throughout Switzerland. For the theater season of 1924-1925 he accepted a position as *Oberregisseur* at the Zürich Schauspielhaus. At last he seemed to have attained a measure of personal and financial security. He held a respected position in the theater, his home life was happy, and he was comparatively free from financial cares. The situation changed abruptly, however. A dispute arose over staging and, despite the threat of poverty and an uncertain future, von Arx resigned rather than compromise on what he considered a matter of principle.

He again returned to Niedererlinsbach, this time with his wife and small daughter, Verena. The next two years were beset with utmost poverty. With no fixed income, he was dependent on small sums which he obtained from lectures. A play written in 1924, *Die Burleske vom Tod,* remained unpublished. Only the most skillful management by his wife kept the family provided with the barest necessities.

After the birth of a second daughter, Maja, in 1926, von Arx yielded to the urging of a friend, Helmi Geiger, to come to Lugano-Paradiso. He moved there in the fall of 1926 and remained for three years, living for most of the time on the estate of Rudolf and Anna Baumann-Kienast. During this time he wrote two Festspiele, *Die Brücke* (1927) and *Schweizer Festspiel* (1928), and a play *Moritat* (1928), which remained unpublished. His greatest achievement during this period, however, was the writing of *Die Geschichte vom General Johann August Sutter.* Completed in 1929, it was played throughout both Germany and Switzerland and brought him recognition as a serious dramatist.

With the success of *Sutter* came also temporary financial independence. Von Arx again returned to Niedererlinsbach. In 1932 he inherited his grandmother's house, where he made his home for the rest of his life. Here in his study, surrounded by the works of the great dramatists, all of his subsequent plays were written.

Between 1930 and 1933 von Arx wrote three successful dramas: *Opernball 13* (1930), *Vogel friss oder stirb* (1932), and *Der Verrat von Novara* (1954). Each added to his stature as a dramatist, and after the appearance of *Der Verrat von Novara,* he was widely referred to as Switzerland's leading playwright. It was translated into nine languages and played throughout Germany, in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Luxemburg, France, Sweden, and Hungary.

Von Arx's career, like that of most German-language authors, was decisively affected by National Socialism. He disapproved of the Hitler regime from the outset, and when an invitation came to join the German "Schrifttumskammer" on the condition that he write nothing adverse to National Socialism, he refused unhesitatingly. *Der Verrat von Novara* was the last play by von Arx to be produced in a theater in Germany. *Der heilige Held* (1936) had been accepted by the Burgtheater in Vienna, but was later rejected because the subject matter was "unsatisfactory." After the appearance of *Dreikampf* (1936), satirizing the totalitarian state, all works by von Arx were expressly forbidden in Germany. The dependence on Swiss theaters was a great hardship to von Arx, both emotionally and financially. The few professional theaters in German speaking Switzerland could provide neither the necessary intellectual stimulation nor financial support for an independent dramatist. Von Arx was interested in writing nothing but drama. "Herr von Arx," an acquaintance once advised him, "für Sie liegt das Geld auf der Strasse. Sie brauchen es bloss aufzuheben. Schreiben Sie einen Roman." "Ich weiss," he answered, "aber ich bücke mich nicht."[6]

Von Arx's later plays were written under the shadow of discouragement over political conditions, financial strain, and poor health. He had always written slowly, revising passages again and again before he would accept them. As he grew older, he wrote even more slowly, and his tensions increased. The slightest noise made it impossible for him to concentrate. He worked at night to avoid the distractions of the day, but he was unable to avoid the influence of weather changes on his frail constitution. He was tortured by doubts concerning his ability. One of the most beneficial influences of his later years was his friendship with Georg Kaiser, whom he assisted in emigrating to Switzerland. Kaiser's encouragement strengthened his faith in himself and gave him an opportunity to exchange ideas on literary subjects. Von Arx read widely in contemporary German and Swiss literature, but his personal contacts were not wide.

In the last twelve years of his life, von Arx produced only four full-length plays: *Der kleine Sündenfall* (1938); *Romanze in Plüsch* (1940); *Land ohne Himmel* (1943); and *Brüder in Christo* (1947). In addition he wrote two Festspiele: *Das Bundesfeierspiel* 1941, and *Die Dornacher Schlachtfeier,* 1949. A Festspiel, "Das Laupenspiel," a proposed film scenario, "Pestalozzi," and a play, "Das Selzacher Passionsspiel," remained uncompleted.

6 August Kamber, "Das Leben des Dramatikers Cäsar von Arx," *Du,* March, 1950.

Throughout the privations and discouragements of his life, von Arx's greatest source of consolation was his wife, Trudi. He had neither money nor inclination for travel, and social life of a formal nature did not interest him. His recreation consisted of walks with his wife, occasional evenings at the theater, reading, and the company of a few congenial friends. In all of these activities his wife was his indispensable companion. When he learned in 1949 that she was dying of cancer, the thought of life without her appeared insupportable to him. Lest his friends later reproach themselves, he confided to them his intention of taking his own life after her death. On July 1949, within a few hours after the death of his wife, von Arx committed suicide by shooting himself. He is buried beside her in a single grave in the village churchyard of Niedererlinsbach.

II. The Drama

The immediate impulse for the writing of *Brüder in Christo* was provided by Stefan Zweig's Novelle, *Castellio gegen Calvin.* In the struggle of the poor French scholar and theologian against the mighty Calvin, von Arx found the inspiration for his drama of the conflict between the Anabaptists and Zwingli. The life of the reformer had for many years appeared to him an excellent subject for a tragic drama, and Zweig's book provided him with necessary stimulus to begin such a play. The period of Zwingli's conflict with the Anabaptists was chosen because it seemed to von Arx the point at which the tragic aspect of the reformer's life was most apparent.

> Die Gestalt Zwinglis, die mich seit meiner Jugend immer wieder beschäftigte, sah und sehe ich von tiefster Tragik umwittert, und *darum* wählte ich als Dramatiker gerade jenen Zeitpunkt und jene historische Situation für mein Stück, in welchen Zwinglis Tragik am *sichtbarsten* zum Ausdruck gelangt. . . .[7]

The dramatist began work on *Brüder in Christo* in the spring of 1944, immediately after he had finished necessary arrangements for the staging of *Land ohne Himmel.* His state of mind during the progress of the play can be reconstructed with the aid of comments which his wife recorded in her diary. He began work on it with enthusiasm. As he progressed, he was subject to the usual spells of discouragement, in which he doubted his talent and the wisdom of his choice of a profession. Such moods had always been common during the composition of a new play, but this time they were intensified by depression over the war and the political situation. To these concerns was added a fear that his work did not meet the de-

7 Cäsar von Arx, "In eigener Sache (zur Kritik meiner Gestaltung Zwinglis in dem Schauspiel "Bruder in Christo")" unpublished, undated manuscript of three pages in the possession of August Kamber, p. 1.

mands of the contemporary public. For almost two and a half years von Arx struggled with *Brüder in Christo,* and he felt no elation even as he completed it. He realized that at best it would be performed in only a very few theaters, and the contrast between his present condition and past triumphs saddened and depressed him. On September 27, 1946, when the play had been finished except for minor revisions, he wrote:

> Es ist alles so sinnlos. Wozu? Wenns hoch hinausgeht, eine Aufführung in Zürich, obwohl sie auch lieber Brecht und Sartre spielen, dann vielleicht Basel und Bern. . . . Als noch (gute) Kritiken kamen und Annahmen von Königsberg bis Freiburg, da war ich irgendwie aufgewühlt. Ich konnte mich auf etwas freuen. Es gab Geld. Heute hat man kein Echo mehr. Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung höchstens freundlichflau. Was für Besprechungen waren das noch aus Deutschland. Mir ist durch Hitler alles genommen.[8]

His discouragement and indecision persisted. The last entry, written three months after the first performance of the play, reads: "Ich überlege mir, ob ich nicht doch noch am Schluss etwas ändern soll" (April 18, 1947).[9]

Von Arx's conception of *Brüder in Christo* appears to have undergone a modification during the course of his work on the play. Originally planned to center about the personal tragedy of Huldrych Zwingli, it grew in time to be concerned with the tragedy inherent in life itself. On June 17, 1946, when the drama was nearing completion, von Arx stated explicitly that he did not intend it merely as another in the long list of "Zwingli dramas." His wife quotes him as saying: "Ich glaube, dass ich den Zwingli (am Schlusse) nicht mehr auftreten lasse. So verschwindet der letzte Schein, es sei ein Zwinglidrama, was es wirklich nicht ist."[10] In the completed play the historical setting merely provides the background for the conflict, which is itself an eternally recurring one. Of the central idea of the drama von Arx said:

> Der Konflikt, den ich in meinem historisch gewandeten Schauspiel zur Darstellung bringe, ist nicht an die Historie gebunden, er ist nicht von einer geschichtlichen Gegebenheit gesetzt und bedingt —er ist ein ewig-menschlicher Konflikt ein Konflikt, wie er uns Menschen von heute in härtester Ausprägung bedrängt: die Diskrepanz zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit, die Unvereinbarkeit von Realität und sittlicher Forderung, der Zwang zum Kompromiss.[11]

Brüder in Christo opens at the point at which Zwingli is forced

8 G. von Arx, *Tagebuch,* p. 58.
9 *Ibid.,* p. 58.
10 *Ibid.,* p. 56.
11 Cäsar von Arx, lecture on *Brüder in Christo,* including comments on his dramatic theory, given in connection with performances of *Brüder in Christo* at Zürich, Winthertur, Biel, Basel, and other Swiss cities. Unpublished manuscript of 25 pages, in the possession of August Kamber, p. 17.

to make decisions concerning three issues of vital concern to him: the controversy with Luther; the approaching war with the Catholic cantons; and the emergence of a dissenting sect, the Anabaptists, from within the ranks of his own church. Each of these problems presents a threat to the success of his work and he feels that decisive action must be taken in regard to each.

Reconciliation with Luther would represent a great step toward the attainment of Zwingli's goal of a united confederation of Protestant states "von der Adria bis hinauf zum Belt." The greatest obstacle in the way of agreement between the two reformers is a difference of opinion concerning the interpretation of the Lord's Supper. As Zwingli discusses Luther with Duke Uz of Württemberg, it is clear that personal pride is also involved in his attitude. When the Duke suggests that Zwingli exercise "Selbstüberwindung" in the matter, the reformer at first defends his attitude as a question of principle: "Selbstüberwindung wäre hier Selbstverrat!" (p. 10). The rivalry existing between the two reformers is betrayed, however, by his subsequent exclamation: "Ich soll mich dem Luther unterwerfen!" (p. 10). He cannot easily forget that Luther has denounced him "als einen Sakramentierer . . . einen Täufer und Schwarmgeist" (p. 11). In the interests of a united Protestant church, however, he tentatively agrees with the Duke to meet Luther at Marburg as soon as the approaching civil war against the Swiss Catholic cantons is concluded.

Zwingli's decision to wage an offensive war against the Catholic cantons has already been made, but depends for its execution upon approval by the City Council of Zürich. He waits impatiently for ratification of his war plans.

The reformer's attitude toward the Anabaptists is influenced by the imminence of his proposed war against the Catholics. To insure the success of this undertaking, it is essential that the Reformed elements be solidly united behind him. The presence of the Anabaptists, preaching nonresistance and separation of church and state, presents a formidable threat to Protestant unity. Seeing his new church endangered by dissension and partition before it has even been firmly established, Zwingli has decided that members of the new sect must not be allowed to disseminate their views. After urging them to recant, under penalty of death, he has begun an active campaign to exterminate them. Three of their leaders have been killed and the remainder have been banished from the city of Zürich.

In each of the crises with which he is faced, Zwingli encounters

the problem of reconciling his roles as a spiritual leader and a practical politician. His goal is the establishment of a strong Reformed church, but he is convinced that this aim can be realized only by working through existing political and national institutions. As he becomes involved in the intrigues of politics, however, Zwingli is faced with the necessity of compromising principle to gain needed allies. The first evidence of his willingness to do this is his allegiance with the morally corrupt Duke Uz of Württemberg. In return for the Duke's support of his religious cause, Zwingli guarantees to help the nobleman regain his throne. Zwingli's wife is horrified that her husband should bargain with such a man and the alliance is questioned by Diethelm Falk, Zwingli's friend, but the reformer remains unperturbed.

Zwingli: Ich weiss, du magst den Herzog nicht leiden.
Falk: Dass du den Schalk nicht endlich durchschaust!
Zwingli: Vielleicht überseh' ich ihn desto leichter im Blick auf das Ziel!—(p. 17)

Falk's questioning of Zwingli's decision to wage war on the Catholic cantons has a more disturbing effect. Here it first becomes evident that Zwingli's tragedy is that of a man who, in attempting to transmit an ideal into reality, gradually alters the ideal to fit the dimensions of reality. In earlier days Zwingli has abhorred violence. Resisting his friend's pleas to approve his battle plans, Falk reminds him that he has once passionately condemned war as "des Christen Abfall von Christus" (p. 19). Zwingli is reluctant to admit the change in his reasoning, but confronted by his own words he does so bitterly. His vehemence betrays the disillusionment of a man who feels that he has been misled by an ideal.

Zwingli has been driven to his decision to fight by the conviction that this course represents the only way to insure the preservation of his young church. The Catholic cantons have sworn to destroy his work and it seems apparent to him that only aggressive action on his part can forestall their intentions. To Falk's suggestion that if the Catholics are allowed to attack first, they will be forced to bear the moral guilt, Zwingli points out the tactical advantage enjoyed by the aggressor. He has convinced himself that in waging war he is following God's plan for him and that the matter is really no longer one in which he has free choice. Thus, there can be no question of guilt involved.

Neither the dispute with Luther nor the quarrel with the Catholic cantons, strategically significant as they are, causes Zwingli as much personal sorrow as does the problem of the Anabaptists. He is tormented by the memory of the three for whose death he must bear

the responsibility. In the impending war with the Catholic cantons many men will undoubtedly lose their lives, but they are unknown to him; the Anabaptists have been his friends and among his most ardent followers.

Adding to his concern is the fact that the deaths of the three have not stamped out the movement as he had hoped. A new and more effective leader has appeared in the person of Cornelius Falk, the only son of Zwingli's closest friend. With Cornelius' banishment from Zürich danger from the sect seems for a time to be past, but as the play opens, Zwingli is informed by Falk that his son has returned. Thus if he is loyal to his own vow, Zwingli must logically execute his friend's son, to whom furthermore he is bound by ties of personal affection.

Why does Zwingli feel that he must resort to such violent measures to suppress the Anabaptists? Falk points out that actually they are a very small group from which danger will surely be minimal. But Zwingli feels that he dare take no chances with the unity of his church. To Zwingli there is no question but that his point of view is the right, and thus the only permissible one. His fear of freedom of thought is based on the assumption that it would herald anarchic dissension in the Protestant ranks. "Soll jeder Letzkopf das Evangelium wie der Storch den Teich nach Fröschen durchfündlen?! Hernach wir bald auf ein Dutzend Christen dreizehn verschiedene Christümer hätten!" (p. 46). Zwingli has grown to maturity in a society which believed almost unanimously in adherence by all men to one spiritual authority. His attitude is a product of that era, and, despite the regret he feels at the ends to which it sometimes leads, he is unable to accept any other philosophy. In leaving the Catholic Church he has by no means embraced the ideal of complete freedom of conscience; in effect he has substituted one orthodoxy for another. The paradox in his position is that he claims a right for himself which he is not willing to grant others. In effect he claims for himself an infallibility of conscience which he denies all who disagree with him. The result of such an attitude, in a person with power at his disposal, can only be despotism.

His personal affection for Cornelius causes Zwingli to avoid making a definite decision about him as long as possible. He reproaches Falk for telling him of his return and deliberately refuses to act on the knowledge: "Nun ich es weiss, brauch' ich's nicht wissen, ich nicht und keiner!" (p. 35). Fearing the implications of Falk's reappearance with Cornelius, he shouts at his friend, "Du lügst!" (p. 42). When his suspicions that Cornelius has baptized

another convert are confirmed, Zwingli has no other choice than to meet the issue squarely. He has decided that Anabaptism must not be allowed to spread; hence, his only chance to save Cornelius is to persuade him to recant. To this effort Zwingli brings all the persuasive power at his command. He reminds Cornelius that Christ himself, in cleansing the temple, referred to it as the house of God, thus sanctifying the institution of the church. Cornelius admits allegiance to no organized church, maintaining: "Gott wohnt nicht in Häusern, Gott wohnt in den Herzen. . . . Die Gemeinschaft der Menschen reinen Herzens, *sie* ist die wahre Kirche Christi" (p. 47). Zwingli's goal is the establishment of a strong Protestant church; Cornelius expresses his in the words: "Das Reich Gottes auf Erden ist Christi Verheissung—uns ist gegeben, sie zu erfüllen" (p. 48). Zwingli feels that in attempting the impossible, man will also lose that which is within his power to attain. He pleads with Cornelius to realize the utopian nature of his beliefs. While he lives in the temporal world man must, Zwingli believes, work with the powers at his disposal there: "Das Menschenmögliche—das Zeitgemässe—das Weltgerechte" (p. 48). By losing sight of his limitations, man also loses his perspective and merely deludes himself.

Like Zwingli, Cornelius is convinced that he possesses the truth. He feels that the reformer has not gone far enough in his attack on the church: "Du rissest den römischen Prunk von den Wänden, du fegtest die Bilder von den Altären, du schmolzest Monstranzen und Kelche ein—aber du legtest nicht Hand an die Mauern, Huldrych —die Kirche, das Haus, liessest du stehn!" (pp. 46, 47). The two men differ completely, however, in their attitude toward reaching their goal. Cornelius starts with the literal commands of Christ, and is unconcerned about the practical results. Zwingli starts with a preconceived notion, a strong church, and chooses the means he considers best suited to reach this goal. Throughout the discussion between the two men, Cornelius' calmness appears in contrast to Zwingli's agitation. For Cornelius there exists no conflict; in repudiating the temporal, he has escaped the problem of reconciling the claims of two worlds, with which Zwingli struggles. The institutions of the present world do not concern him, and he is free to follow the course which he has chosen. He has given away all his possessions, has been beaten and tortured, and prospect of death by martyrdom does not frighten him; thus, to Zwingli's exasperation, he is impervious either to practical reasoning or threats of punishment. The dramatic effectiveness of the exchange of views between the two men is heightened by the factor of the personal bond existing between them. As

a former follower of Zwingli, Cornelius' ideas have been derived in large measure from his earlier teaching. There still exists between them a strong feeling of sympathy and respect, and Zwingli winces as Cornelius tells him that his words have given him strength to endure persecution without recanting. Zwingli's anger yields to his desire for reconciliation, and he pleads with Cornelius to return to the church from personal consideration for him. But the younger man cannot, any more than Zwingli, surrender his belief in his cause.

Von Arx was criticized for the apparent harshness of his portrait of Zwingli in contrast to the gentle Cornelius. He emphatically denied accusations that he had intentionally placed the reformer in an unfavorable light. "Es lag mir absolut fern, aus dramaturgischen Gründen, wie z.B. um der Kontrastwirkung willen zu Cornelius, die Gestalt Zwinglis härter zu zeichnen, als es sich historisch und psychologisch verantworten liess."[12] In von Arx's presentation Zwingli possesses many warm, human traits. He is a sympathetic friend, who in the midst of urgent problems takes time to listen attentively to Falk's concern regarding his marriage. His sensitivity is such that he feels guilty playing with his children in the presence of Falk, whose own son is banished. The decisions in regard to policy which von Arx attributes to Zwingli are not inventions of the dramatist. Zwingli's persecution of the Anabaptists and his participation in the war against the Catholics are both matters of historical record. In *Brüder in Christo* von Arx traces the process by which a peace-loving, idealistic man such as Zwingli is influenced by the demands of reality to compromise with principle. The dilemma is not one peculiar to Zwingli but is faced by every individual. Von Arx's primary interest in the drama lay in the philosophies which the characters represent, and he intended the conflict between Zwingli and Cornelius not as personal or sectarian but ideological. He saw Cornelius less as a representative of any particular sect than as an embodiment of the teachings of Christ followed uncompromisingly.[13]

As Zwingli's friend and Cornelius' father, Diethelm Falk is in the most difficult position of the three. He is loyal to the Reformed Church, but troubled and resentful that Cornelius must endure persecution at the hands of its defenders, supposedly his "Brüder in Christo." His questioning allegiance to the church is further threatened by Zwingli's change in attitude concerning war. As a city

12 "In eigener Sache," p. 1.

13 On this point the dramatist said: "Dass ich das Täufertum in seiner edelsten, reinsten und schlackenlosen Sublimierung, in der Figur des fast heilig anmutenden Cornelius, und nicht in seinen Auswüchsen darstellte, hat seinen Grund darin, dass ich nicht so sehr das Täufertum in seiner historischen Manifestation, als das von ihm propagierte Urchristentum in Cornelius zu verkörpern trachte" ("In eigener Sache," p. 2).

councillor and experienced politician, Falk is no stranger to the necessity of compromise. The contrast between Zwingli's earlier teachings and his present actions continues to disturb him, however. His doubts concerning Zwingli's procedure first take definite form as he listens to the conversation between him and Cornelius. Suddenly aware of the basis for his dissatisfaction with Zwingli, he boldly challenges his friend, at the same time confessing the views which are henceforth to separate him and Zwingli:

> *Falk* (tritt hinter Zwingli): Du bist bekannt als ein tapferer Mann —jedwedem Feind blickst du furchtlos ins Auge—hab jetzt den Mut: schau dir selbst ins Gesicht! (Er beugt sich über ihn, eindringlich) Du und dein Wort seid uneins geworden,—Huldrych, dein Wort steht wider dich auf! Nicht jenes allein, dort in dem Büchlein, nein, auch das andre, das Losungswort, das uns zu dir unter die Fahne rief: dein Wort von der christlichen Freiheit des Glaubens. Sie zu verteidigen, greifst du zum Schwert, du schreckst nicht zurück vor dem Bruderkrieg—doch die nämliche christliche Freiheit des Glaubens sprichst du den Andersgläubigen ab! (p. 46)

In the ensuing conversation, a fundamental difference in the convictions of the two men clearly emerges.

> *Zwingli* (hebt das Gesicht aus den Händen, wieder Herr über sich): Die Freiheit des Glaubens ist nicht die Freiheit der Gläubigen. Der Glaube ist nicht ein gemeinfreies Tuch, davon jeder sich nehmen mag, soviel als er braucht, um sich daraus seinen Leibrock zu schneidern! Der Glaube, Diethelm, ist unteilbar!
>
> *Falk:* Die Glaubensfreiheit ist es nicht minder! Sie ist kein Vorrecht, sie ist ein Recht, ein Recht für alle oder für keinen!—Wie kannst du verfolgen, was du verteidigst! Wie kannst du verteidigen, was du verfolgst! (p. 46)

To Falk's question Zwingli can only answer that the unity of the church must take precedence over freedom of thought for the individual.

For Falk the religious question is interwoven with a domestic problem. His sympathy for his son is mixed with an uncomfortable awareness that he is jealous of him. To the surprised Zwingli, Falk confesses that he has cast the deciding vote to banish Cornelius from Zürich because he feared his attraction for his second wife, the young Margarete.

In contrast to the thoroughness with which the religious theme is developed, Falk's family problem tends to appear insufficiently motivated. Falk tells Zwingli that he himself sent for Cornelius to return to Zürich and Margarete, "bevor es zu spät ist" (p. 34). However, he does not enlarge sufficiently to make his fears appear justified. He tells the story to Zwingli by means of an allegory concerning

a pet finch he once owned. Hoping to train the bird to sing at night, he shut the sun away from him during the day. Instead of accustoming itself to artificial light, the finch became weaker and weaker, until in a frantic effort to save him, his owner threw open the blinds to let in the sunlight. It was too late; the next morning the bird was dead. In Falk's allegory, the finch obviously refers to Margarete or his happiness, which are identical, and Falk and the young Cornelius to the contrast between night and the sun. Although there is nothing in the action of the play to suggest any erotic interest between Margarete and Cornelius, the young man does, through his teachings, destroy Falk's marriage. Thus Falk's jealousy is justified, for Margarete's interest in Cornelius as a spiritual leader endangers his home as seriously as any personal desire for the young man could have done. Despite their ultimate plausibility, the relationships between the members of Falk's family would have been more effective dramatically had they been more carefully delineated, particularly in the early scenes.

The climax in the clash of philosophies occurs with Falk's sudden decision to leave Zwingli's church and become an Anabaptist. Around this decision the subsequent development of the drama revolves. The primary question becomes one of motivation: what are Falk's real motives and to what extent does he interpret his action correctly? The immediate impulse for his decision is his horror at the sight of Cornelius' scarred body and his subsequent revulsion from a church which can condone such inhumanity, while professing to follow the teachings of Christ. The contrast between the Christian admonitions of brotherly love and the visible evidence of his son's persecution strikes him so forcibly that he can no longer accept it on the grounds of practical necessity. At the moment the consideration that his wife is a member of the new sect does not appear to influence his action. Shaken by the contrast in attitude between Cornelius and Zwingli, he impulsively acknowledges his belief in the moral superiority of his son's position. His wife's doubts of his sincerity raise questions in his mind, however, which he is unable to answer to his satisfaction. He denies her accusation that he has desired baptism "um meinetwillen, nicht um Christi willen—aus Liebe zu mir, nicht aus Liebe zu ihm" (p. 65). Nevertheless he realizes, when he must choose between saving his son or assuming Cornelius' spiritual role himself, that his thoughts are of his wife rather than of his mission or of the consequences for Cornelius. He is convinced that the tenets of Anabaptism represent more nearly than any other philosophy he has encountered uncompromising adherence to the teachings

of Christ; yet, even as he accepts this fact, he also realizes that he is incapable of following them. The Anabaptists accept literally the admonition, "So einer zu mir kommt und hasset nicht Vater, Mutter, Weib, Kinder, Brüder, Schwester, ja auch sein eigenes Leben, der kann nicht mein Jünger sein" (p. 65); this Falk cannot do. Feeling himself "der wahren Taufe in Christo Jesu nicht würdig" (p. 72), he chooses freedom for Cornelius and, spiritually crushed, agrees to help Zwingli realize his war plans.

Many contemporary reviewers of the play criticized von Arx's use of the ruse by which Zwingli forces his friend back into the church. He gives Falk a choice of freeing Cornelius or of assuming the young man's role as leader of the Anabaptists. In the event Falk chooses the former course, he will lose his wife but save his son; if he chooses the latter course, he will be free to leave Zürich with Margarete, but at the cost of Cornelius' death. One critic accused von Arx of endowing the reformer with "geradezu erpresserischen Zügen" and wrote indignantly: "Zwingli erscheint wie Metternich."[14] Viewed from the standpoint of Zwingli's temperament and his past relations with Falk, however, his strategy appears understandable. Zwingli and Falk are both politicians; in the first act of the play Falk agrees to a bargain whereby he will support Zwingli's plans in the council if in turn the reformer will repeal the ban barring Cornelius from Zürich. Zwingli's action appears brutal largely because he is incapable of grasping how deeply Falk has been affected by the crisis through which he has passed; to him his friend is still the Councillor Falk, a sophisticated man who would consider such a bargain perfectly understandable.

Of *Brüder in Christo* von Arx said: "Sein Held ist nicht Zwingli und nicht Cornelius, sein Held ist der Ratsherr Diethelm Falk."[15] Of the three chief characters in the drama, Falk is the one who most honestly faces himself and accepts responsibility for his actions. He makes no excuses on the grounds of historic necessity or divine mandate. Zwingli identifies his will to power with divine purpose; Cornelius has so completely subjugated his own will that for him there are no conflicts, and consequently no possibility of real tragedy. Falk is the figure in whom von Arx's concept of the tragic conflict in *Brüder in Christo* is most completely realized. He seeks a way of life which will be free of compromise; but, having found that way of life must admit that he is incapable of following it. In this situation the dramatist saw a tragic paradox which is inherent in life. The drama illuminates the problems without attempting to offer a solution.

14 *Luzerner Neueste Nachrichten*, February 15, 1947.
15 C. von Arx, Zürich lecture, p. 25.

Von Arx saw no solution. Of the dilemma expressed in *Brüder in Christo* he said:

> Wenn man von mir wissen will, wie ich mich persönlich zum Problem stelle, so bekenne ich, dass ich die Rettung der Welt vor dem Untergang, der uns heute mehr denn je bedroht, einzig und allein in der kompromisslosen Befolgung der christlichen Gebote zu sehen vermag. . . . Wozu uns alle geistige Erkenntnis der früheren Jahrhunderte nicht zu bringen vermag, dazu zwingt uns jetzt die ungeheuere Entwicklung der Technik. Ich glaube nicht mehr an die erhaltende Macht des Kompromisses, ich glaube nur noch an ein Entweder-Oder. Ob die Menschheit allerdings auch die Kraft haben wird, die Entscheidung zum Guten zu treffen und ob wir überhaupt ohne Kompromisse leben können, daran wiederum zweifle ich. Zwischen Glaube und Zweifel aber liegt die Tragik des Erkennens—und aus solcher zutiefst erlebten, persönlich erfahrenen Tragik habe ich mein Werk "Brüder in Christo" geschrieben.[16]

Ironically Falk, in his own eyes unworthy, acts with more genuine heroism than either Zwingli or Cornelius. Realizing the baseness of which he is capable, he immediately repudiates it, even though his decision means the loss of his wife. The question he must ask himself is: "Ob mir die Kraft zu meiner schwersten Entscheidung aus der Schwäche meines Blutes gewachsen ist?" (p. 65) When he cannot answer negatively, he unhesitatingly chooses the more honorable, and more painful of the two courses which are available to him.

In *Brüder in Christo,* to a greater extent than in any other of von Arx's plays, ideas take precedence over action. The success of the drama depends on the effective development of the characters and the degree to which the ideas involved stir the imagination of the audience. In Falk and Zwingli von Arx creates two figures of unquestionable strength. The ideological battle between them gains significance through the vitality of their personalities. In the background of the controversy, yet dominating it, stands the figure of Cornelius. Although the embodiment of an ideal, he appears neither weak nor sentimental. The minor figures—Anna Zwingli, Margarete, and Creszenz, the maid—are portrayed with care. Many critics attacked the presentation of Zwingli as unfair to the reformer, but few denied the strength with which von Arx had imbued his characters.

The speech in *Brüder in Christo* is characterized by a thoughtfulness and deliberation which contrasts with the rapid dialogue of most of von Arx's works. The dramatist avoids philosophical or metaphysical terminology in favor of metaphors, and the language is characterized throughout by sober vitality. In speaking of realizing the kingdom of God on earth, Zwingli says: "Der Acker muss aufgebrochen sein, gepflügt and geeggt, soll der Same wurzeln" (p. 48).

16 "In eigener Sache," pp. 2-3.

He compares the Anabaptists to an overanxious farmer who, attempting to hurry Nature's processes, jeopardizes his entire harvest by premature sowing. Von Arx was criticized by some Swiss reviewers for the "undignified" quality of Zwingli's speech, but in general serious critics praised the language of the play. Wilhelm Kosch wrote:

> In sinnfälligen Bildern voll höchster Ausdruckskraft lässt der Dichter den streitbaren Reformator mit seinem wildbewegten Jahrhundert und seiner stürmischen Umwelt vor uns lebendig werden. Die urwüchsige Eigenart seiner Sprache, die sich manchmal zur sprichwörtlichen Formung steigert und auch dialektischer Zutat nicht entbehrt, um das Schweizer Kolorit zu wahren, zwingt uns stets aufs neue in ihren Bann.[17]

Brüder in Christo was first performed at the Zürich Schauspielhaus on February 12, 1947. Despite the warm reception accorded the play by opening night audience, von Arx was disappointed. The staging was not uniformly successful, and the actress playing the part of Margarete was partially inaudible. The dramatist described the performance as ". . . eine furchtbare Enttäuschung, der dritte Akt, ganz falsch inszeniert, kam gar nicht zur Geltung. Es war erstaunlich, dass viele das Stück trotzdem verstanden haben."[18] With subsequent performances von Arx for the second time saw the question of the literary merit of one of his plays submerged in violent controversies over its religious implications. *Land ohne Himmel* had been construed by many as an attack on the Catholic Church. In the case of *Brüder in Christo* criticism came from Protestant sources and centered on von Arx's portrayal of Zwingli. In anticipation of this difficulty, a Protestant theologian, Dr. Oskar Pfister, had prepared an essay, "Zur Uraufführung von *Brüder in Christo,* Die Problemstellung in Cäsar von Arx' Schauspiel." This essay, explaining the historical background of the drama and defending von Arx's portrayal of Zwingli, was printed on each playbill at the opening performance. For those disturbed by the contrast between Zwingli and Cornelius, Pfister concluded reassuringly, "Die Geschichte hat nicht dem Weltverächter Cornelius, sondern dem weltklugen Gottesstreiter recht gegeben." Nevertheless a storm of protest greeted the play from the Swiss press. Not only religious journals and papers, but several leading Swiss newspapers questioned von Arx's treatment of Zwingli. The reviewer of *Die Tat* (February 19, 1947) protested: "Ein Zwingli, der Zeit findet, auf der Bühne Trompete zu blasen . . . , sollte auch Zeit haben, seine staatsmännische Klugheit, seine Glaubensglut überzeugend auszusprechen." The *Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung* printed

17 Wilhelm Kosch, "Cäsar von Arx und seine *Brüder in Christo*," *Die Furche,* Vienna, June 28, 1947.
18 G. von Arx, *Tagebuch,* p. 58.

no review of the play; in answer to an inquiry by von Arx, the editor, D. W. Meier, wrote:

> Halten Sie dies bitte nicht für eine Unfreundlichkeit Ihnen persönlich gegenüber, doch lassen Sie mich sagen, dass ich diesmal zu Ihrem Werk aus weltanschaulichen Gründen nicht vorbehaltlos habe ja sagen können. . . . Ich glaubte daher, Ihnen und Ihrer Arbeit gegenüber fair zu handeln, wenn ich auf eine Würdigung verzichtet habe.[19]

On February 14, 1947, a denunciation of the play was printed in the *Zürichersee Zeitung* under the caption "Eine Zwinglikarikatur." An article entitled "Ein Drama, das Anstoss erregt," originally printed in the Basel *Evangelische Volkszeitung,* was reprinted in many smaller Swiss newspapers. "Es sei überaus bedauerlich," the reviewer wrote, "dass in der Zwinglistadt ein stark verzeichnetes Bild von Zwingli geboten werde. Was soll mit dieser Herabsetzung Zwinglis bezweckt werden?"

From other sources, to be sure, came enthusiastic praise. Wilhelm Kosch wrote:

> Die Gegenwart ist arm an deutschsprachigen Bühnendichtungen von Rang und Fernwirkung. Mit den "Brüdern in Christo" erhalten wir, wie einst mit dem "Heiligen Helden," das Meisterwerk eines Dramatikers, der für die Schweiz einen Ehrenplatz in der Theatergeschichte erobert, den früher andere Länder unseres Sprachgebiets besessen haben.[20]

A thoughtful review in *Die Nation* (February 12, 1947) praised the drama and labelled it "das vollendetste seiner Werke."

In October 1948, *Brüder in Christo* was produced in Bern with a new cast. Despite warm response from the audience the play was abruptly removed from the program after three performances. Ekkehard Kohlund, director of the Bern theater and a personal friend of von Arx, wrote the dramatist: "Leider kann ich infolge der "Affaire," die hervorgerufen wurde durch die besagte Kritik [newspaper articles criticizing the play] . . . keine Aufführung mehr ansetzen, was mich sehr kränkt."[21] Subsequently the play was produced by the Bern cast at guest appearances in many smaller Swiss cities. In connection with many of these performances von Arx delivered a lecture in which he explained his attitude toward the play and sought to remove misunderstandings concerning his interpretation of Zwingli. "Wer mir aber gar eine Verunglimpfung Zwinglis, noch dazu aus dem Ressentiment des Andersgläubigen, vorwirft, darf mir nicht

(Continued on page 137)

19 Letter from Dr. W. Meier to von Arx, contained in von Arx's literary *Nachlass.*
20 Wilhelm Kosch, "Cäsar von Arx und seine *Brüder in Christo,*" *Die Furche,* Vienna, June 28, 1947.
21 Letter to von Arx from Ekkehard Kohlund, contained in the dramatist's literary *Nachlass.*

ZWINGLI AND THE ANABAPTISTS IN CAESAR VON ARX'S DRAMA "BRUEDER IN CHRISTO"

Mary E. Bender*

Brüder in Christo is a tragedy which has as its setting the conflict between Zwingli and the Zürich Anabaptists in 1529. It is without question the outstanding imaginative treatment of the Anabaptists written in the twentieth century in respect to literary quality, historical and theological accuracy, and insight into the spirit of Anabaptism.

The following appraisal of its premiere which appeared in the *Basler Nationalzeitung* (February 14, 1947) is typical of the extremely favorable reaction of several critics: "In die schweizerische Theatergeschichte wird dieser Uraufführungsabend als ein besonderes Datum eingehen. Man kann ihn wohl als einen der grössten Erfolge eines Schweizer Dramatikers buchen."

The action of the drama is as follows: Although sympathetic with the Anabaptist position, Zürich city councillor Falk (a fictional character), Zwingli's closest friend, signs an edict of the Reformer banning all Anabaptists from the city. He does it, as he realizes only later, because he subconsciously wishes to be rid of his son by a former marriage, to whom he fears his second and younger wife is attracted. He is aghast when he realizes his real motivation and begs Zwingli to rescind the edict. Zwingli offers to let Cornelius return to Zürich on condition that he refrain from preaching or baptizing. Cornelius, however, does baptize his stepmother, Margarete, and Falk brings his son to Zwingli. As Cornelius interprets his position to Zwingli, Falk, already sympathetic, is increasingly impressed with the religious strength of the movement his son represents; and as the issues become more sharply defined, he finds Zwingli's position intolerable and becomes a convinced Anabaptist.

The threatened loss of his friend's help is the worst blow that could have struck Zwingli, and he resorts to cunning in order to retain it. He promises to release Cornelius if Falk will remain in the church, sure that the sensitive Falk will do everything possible to avoid giving place to selfish interests and will ask for Cornelius' release at any cost. Falk does remain in the church, but not only to save his son. His awareness of his ulterior motivation, sharpened by Zwingli's proposition, has convinced him that he is unworthy of being an Anabaptist. The final scene of the drama portrays him with Zwingli, his spirit dead, mechanically participating in the latter's plan for a war which he is convinced is morally wrong.

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Von Arx uses Falk and Cornelius on the one hand and Zwingli on the other to represent the opposing doctrinal issues involved in the conflict between the Anabaptist and the state church movements, in which he is obviously deeply interested. As a dramatist he cannot be concerned about doctrine apart from personality, and his analysis of theological issues becomes a convincing part of the personality development in *Brüder in Christo.*

Zwingli represents the state church concept that the church is under obligation to admit and even compel everyone into its fold. He considers it his task to protect and spread the kingdom of God by any available means. He is convinced that the good ends of God can be achieved on this earth only by including, where necessary, unscriptural means, and that to survive, the church must realize the futility of trying to follow the absolutes set forth in the New Testament and must take a practical approach to its mission.

He expresses his philosophy of compromise thus: ". . . die Erde vermag nicht, den Himmel zu tragen—der Mensch ist das schwerste, was sie erträgt. . . . Wir haben die Kraft, vollkommen zu werden, wir haben aber die Kraft nicht, vollkommen zu sein" (25).[1] "Das Reich Gottes auf Erden ist ein Traum, ein Gespinst, eine Utopie" (48). Zwingli's aims are "das Menschenmögliche—das Zeitgemässe—das Weltgerechte" (48). "Die Gesetze Christi," he says, "setzen eine christliche Welt voraus" (48).

Since he considers himself a politician for the cause of God, Zwingli has no qualms about waging war to promote it, for it is apparent to him that without war the cause will be lost. He can even, though with genuine personal regret, have the death sentence passed on friends who threaten the supremacy of his teachings.

In spite of Zwingli's undeniable faith, the immediate, practical end assumes prime importance in his promulgation of his cause. Zwingli's wife shudders at his considering an alliance with guilty Duke Uz von Württemberg; Falk understands his friend's motives: "Politik, Frau Anna! . . . Politik!" (17) When Falk tries to persuade Zwingli to risk attack by the Catholic cantons rather than to wage an aggressive war, saying, "Dann [in the case that the Reformed party were to be attacked] trifft die Schuld daran sie und nicht uns!" Zwingli replies, "Dann trifft der Schaden davon uns und nicht sie!" (20) Early in the drama Zwingli truthfully assures Falk he need not worry about his son's relationship with Margarete. Later, when Falk begs him to let his son come back, Zwingli, realizing that Cornelius' return would be dangerous to the Reformed cause, cunningly warns

1 The number in parentheses each time refers to the page in the first edition of Cäsar von Arx's *Brüder in Christo* (Zürich, Verlag Oprecht, 1947).

Falk that Cornelius' presence would be a serious threat to his marriage.

But though he actually emphasizes Zwingli's weakness, von Arx does not make him morally culpable; for Zwingli follows with dedication his concept of right, totally unaware of the illogical or egocentric motivation of his course of action, even when he warns Falk about Cornelius. He really believes, as he remarks to Anna, that the scheme for keeping Falk in the church by touching his guilt feelings has come from God.

Neither does von Arx picture Zwingli as a callous man of principle. On the contrary, in the early dramatic scenes Zwingli is inclined to be deeply sensitive to his having to injure for the sake of his program those whom he loves. This sensitivity finds perhaps its most dramatic expression in a scene in which his innocent enjoyment of play with his three-year-old son in the presence of Falk, whose son he has banished, brings him sharp feelings of guilt and remorse. The happy scene ends abruptly with Zwingli's harsh self-accusation, "Ich bin ein Schuft!" (27) He can hardly endure the pain of having had to condemn to death three of his friends (Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock). When the purely opportunistic Duke Uz chides him for taking this action so seriously, reminding him of the hundred thousand deaths for which Luther was responsible and accusing Zwingli of undue leniency toward the Anabaptists, Zwingli makes the significant reply:

> Hat Luther die Hunderttausend gekannt, einen jeden vom andern unterschieden nach Gesicht und Gestalt? . . . Von den dreien weiss ich, wer sie gewesen, wie sie leibten und lebten . . . ich seh sie vor mir, wann immer ich will . . . auch wenn ich nicht will . . . im Wachen und im Träumen . . . ich kann sie euch schildern, mit ihren Tugenden und Fehlern . . . (13).

He expresses his inner torment still more clearly when he says, "Ich trage vor Gott die Verantwortung für den Tod dreier Menschen" (13). The following characteristic monologue reflects the mixture of anguish and resentment that led to his treachery toward Falk:

> . . . als wär' nicht des Uebels und Schadens genug, dass sein Sohn ein Anabaptist ist! Hoi! wie sie lästern und jubeln werden! Und nicht bloss die Päpstlichen! Die catalinarische Bande hier wird sich vor Freude die Schenkel klatschen! (53)
>
> Stell dir den Eindruck auf die Kirchhöre vor! Muss nicht der Boden unter ihr wanken! Müssen die Gläubigen nicht irr an mir werden, wenn der Mann der bis heut' mir der nächste war, in der Stunde der Austrags von mir abfällt? (Die Erregung hetzt ihn . . . hin und her) (54).

Von Arx's effort to make Zwingli as sensitively human as pos-

sible, as well as to present him as a man of faith and principle, characteristics necessary to lend depth to the tragic conflict, is apparent.[2]

Zwingli's conviction that the promotion of the Reformation, his great cause, justifies the destruction of other people becomes his only defense against an intolerable personal conflict. When Cornelius suddenly disturbs his painfully acquired peace of mind by confronting him with the New Testament absolute of love, he becomes almost desperate, and in self-defense he hardens his responses to others and begins to consider people, like everything else, simply tools for his ends.

The scene is as follows: After his baptism of Margarete, Cornelius has been brought to Zwingli as was agreed. To Zwingli's assertion that Cornelius violated his command hoping for leniency—an assertion which is evidently directed toward providing an excuse to be lenient—Cornelius replies that Zwingli's previous treatment of Anabaptists and his expressed hatred for Anabaptism preclude any such hope and states his readiness to accept Zwingli's will. As he does so he brings to Zwingli's mind word after word and action after action against the Anabaptists and renews the latter's painful awareness of the suffering he has caused. In the resultant emotional tension, Cornelius says, "Ich liebe dich, wie ich dich immer geliebt habe. . . . Ich bin dein Bruder in Christo, Huldrych" (44, 45). This reawakening of the personal feelings of affection that Zwingli has been trying to kill in favor of duty prompts Zwingli to beg Cornelius to recant. When Cornelius then quotes the Reformer's own writing against turning coward in the face of difficulty and says that he has kept the pamphlet with him for strength and blesses him for it, Zwingli is almost beside himself. Falk sums up Zwingli's tragic situation when he says, "Du und Dein Wort sind uneins geworden—Huldrych" (46). Zwingli's refusal to be lenient toward Cornelius ("Dann geschehe was muss!" (49)) typifies the attitude which is to characterize him exclusively from this point on. When, at the close of the drama, Falk sits before him at the war map, broken, Zwingli has lost his capacity to understand the tragedy that he has brought into his friend's life. To him their renewed co-operation is no more than a bargain. He has given Falk something and wants payment in return. The sensitivity which characterized Zwingli earlier in the drama has disappeared.

Zwingli is thus a sort of second tragic hero for the drama—one of the bearers of the fundamental problem, the conflict between the desire and the necessity to follow an ideal and the realistic require-

2 See Gloria Winslow's discussion of this point in her article in this issue (p. 109).

ments of life. Von Arx wrote, in words which indicate the central position of Zwingli for this problem in his mind:

> Die Gestalt Zwinglis, die mich seit meiner Jugend immer wieder beschäftigte, sah und sehe ich von tiefster Tragik umwittert, und *darum* wählte ich als Dramatiker gerade jenen Zeitpunkt und jene historische Situation für mein Stück, in welchem Zwinglis Tragik am *sichtbarsten* zum Ausdruck gelangt. . . . Dieser Zeitpunkt und diese Situation . . . sind gegeben in dem historischen Faktum, dass Zwingli glaubte, zur Verteidigung seines Reformwerkes gegen seine inneren und äusseren Feinde, Täufer und Altgläubige, des Schwertes nicht entraten zu können, des Schwertes, das er als Christ verpönte. Hier sehe ich die Tragik nicht nur Zwinglis, sondern aller christlichen Staats- und Kirchenführer, die Tragik der heute unsere besten Männer, die wahrhaft guten Willens sind, zu erliegen drohen. Und erleben wir nicht selber, jeder von uns, die Tragik im eigenen Leib und eigener Seele?[3]

However, Zwingli's compromise is not a continuing personal tragedy, as Falk's position becomes for him. Zwingli gradually loses all doubt that his new course is justified. Thus his conflict finally loses some of its personal quality and becomes an abstract idea. (To survive, the Reformed party needed to employ non-Biblical means.) His original choice between conflicting allegiances to irreconcilable duties disappears. It is strange that the majority of critics have found in Zwingli the drama's real tragic hero. That he is not represents a modification in von Arx's approach to Zwingli, as Gloria Winslow reveals in her article in this issue (p. 104).

As Zwingli's personality hardens to his single-minded purpose, Falk's personality gains in religious insight through suffering. (The parallel contrasting development of the two men is impressive from an aesthetic standpoint.)

Through Falk's attempt to make Zwingli see the error of the course he has taken, von Arx brings out clearly and penetratingly the doctrinal issues involved in the historical conflict which the drama presents. Falk, in contrast to Zwingli, advocates the Anabaptist concept of the church as a fellowship of dedicated disciples, committed to absolute obedience to the New Testament. Even before Falk decides to join the Anabaptists, he tries to persuade Zwingli that the use of force violates Christ's command of absolute love; he pleads with Zwingli not to use opportunistic means to gain his ends, and begs him to exercise tolerance. His use of "sollen" in insignificant contrast to Zwingli's "müssen."

Superficially, Falk's situation appears less paradoxical and therefore less tragic than Zwingli's. He could have become an Anabaptist,

3 "In eigener Sache (zur Kritik meiner Gestaltung Zwinglis in dem Schauspiel *Brüder in Christo*)," unpublished manuscript of two pages in the possession of August Kamber, Aarau, Switzerland, p. 1. I am indebted to Miss Gloria Winslow for access to the unpublished sources

following his religious convictions with the knowledge that though this meant sacrificing his son, an Anabaptist such as Cornelius would assume such a sacrifice as a matter of course and would actually welcome it in preference to the sacrifice of religious ideals. He is thus never actually caught between conflicting duties, as Zwingli was. Falk's conflict is of a more purely psychological and personal nature. Had Falk sacrificed his son, his sincere and sensitive love for him, aggravated by feelings of guilt associated with signing the law which banished him, would have made his life intolerable. Furthermore, these feelings of guilt, kept alive by his continued fear of selfishness, and suddenly sharpened by Zwingli's bargain, convince him that he is unworthy of the right to pursue his religious ideals by joining a group such as the Anabaptists, and he chooses rather to submit to that philosophy of compromise which he loathes.

Thus his situation, excellently motivated psychologically, becomes genuinely tragic. His very honesty paradoxically thwarts his noblest aspirations, especially the aspiration to be completely honest. The same nobility which impels him to become a part of the fellowship whose tenets are the principles he wishes to live by also prevents him from doing so by keeping alive his doubts as to the purity of his motives. Von Arx has created in Falk an impressive tragic character rare in our era of rationalization and compromise. His conflict is reminiscent of the conflict of T. S. Eliot's a Becket, for whom doing the right was likewise so fraught with personal weakness that it seemed more righteous not to do it. But Falk's position is more difficult than that of Becket, who was released from his conflict by his death.

Whereas Falk presents the intellectual arguments for Anabaptism but is finally kept by personality conflicts from being an Anabaptist, Cornelius, oriented to another world, represents Anabaptism in his total personality. He is the only major character who is not personally shattered, even temporarily, by paradoxical conflict. He sees no weakness in his cause; he is not hindered by an external force from pursuing it since the cause itself assumes persecution; and he never feels an inner compulsion to forsake or even to compromise his ideal.

His function as a representative of Anabaptism involves not only his being a mouthpiece for the movement, but also his bringing Zwingli face to face with the weaknesses of the Reformed program in a way in which the conflict-ridden Falk could never have done it. Because of his otherworldly orientation, Cornelius is elusive and unpredictable to Zwingli, who cannot manage him as he can Falk.

From an absolute point of view Cornelius is the strongest char-

acter of the drama. His behavior and his thinking are integrated, and he gains the reader's sympathy through the strength of his dedication. He has stood the test of severe persecution. He is especially appealing as a personality because his absolute dedication to his ideals has not dulled his sensitivity to others as Zwingli's has.

Margarete is in some respects similar to her husband, especially in the nature of the one conflict which she experiences—her fear that her baptism may have been prompted by an ulterior motive; namely, by desire to follow Cornelius. Von Arx emphasizes the similarity by having her ask the same question about her baptism which Falk has asked about a decision to join Cornelius too: "Ob mir die Kraft zu meiner schwersten Entscheidung aus der Schwäche meines Blutes gewachsen ist?" She answers it also with the same "Ich weiss es nicht" which he has used (65, 66). Like Falk, she is extremely sensitive, and the realization that her religious decision may have been influenced by a selfish motive is excruciating. Like Falk, Margarete is completely sincere. Like him she is possessed by a desire to follow her concept of right without compromise, and thus when she is convinced of the truth of the Anabaptist cause she is willing to give up all that she has hitherto cherished to join the Anabaptists.

As cannot be said for Falk, however, both her personality development and the conflict which it is meant to produce are vague and inadequately motivated. In spite of the fact that she becomes afraid that she has allowed Cornelius to baptize her because of affection for him (partly as a result of her husband's expressed fears), there is nothing in the drama to indicate that she has anything but an admiration for Cornelius' heroic adherence to and enormous suffering for his faith. This admiration may be tinged—as would be natural—by some subconscious erotic attraction to Cornelius. Still, her behavior toward Falk is such as to leave no doubt as to her happiness with him or her deep love for him; and Falk himself admits to Zwingli that he has no grounds for suspicion except the fact that he is old and Margarete and Cornelius are both young. The drama makes clear that in following Cornelius, Margarete is actually sacrificing all self-interest for the "imitatio Christi" and furthermore that leaving Falk is the most difficult sacrifice of all for her. The hint by Falk, and Margarete's own sudden fear, are the only indications of any other motive. One might even assume that Falk's fear of losing Margarete is based not on a fear of love between Margarete and Cornelius but rather on fear of Margarete's abandoning him simply to become a disciple of Cornelius as he himself remains in the state church.

Nor does Margarete remain shattered long by her fear. She follows Cornelius, moments after expressing her doubt, without any evident sign of conflict, and we must assume only that she is looking forward to nothing but martyrdom.

Von Arx has created in *Brüder in Christo* convincing, fast moving drama whose lines of conflict are on the whole developed with clarity and discipline. Obviously aware of the requirements of the stage and of theatrical effects, von Arx uses the latter sparingly, generally without detriment to the portrayal of his characters.

Brüder in Christo does contain two disturbing symbols, however. Early in the drama when Falk confesses his fears about Margarete, begging Zwingli to rescind the edict banishing Cornelius, he relates the story of a pet warbler which he kept from the sunlight so that at night, thinking it was day, the bird would sing by artificial light when he most wanted its song. All went well until the warbler caught sight of sunlight; after that it refused to sing, and finally it died. In the context of the action, Falk appears to imply that the warbler represents Margarete, who although she has believed herself to be in love with him, is deceiving herself and is actually in love with Cornelius, whom she needs; and that for this reason, Cornelius must return.

A warbler appears again in the scene in which Margarete leaves to join Cornelius. As she is about to throw into the Limmat the key to Cornelius' cell which Zwingli has sent with the implication that it is to be exchanged for Falk's allegiance to the church, the bird sings in the distance, but only hesitantly. Falk suddenly restrains her, asserting that he is unworthy of becoming an Anabaptist. She protests ("niedrig warst du nie"); but immediately when Falk explains that his reaction to the prospect of the loss of the key was not sorrow for Cornelius but "Lust, Glück, Sünde," she give tacit agreement, remarks, "Es ist Zeit," and leaves, while the warbler rejoices. When she is gone and Falk is alone, the warbler "jubelt was die Kehle vermag" (71). In the final scene, Falk, alone with Zwingli, discovers Margarete's scrupulous household inventory on the slate on which Zwingli is writing his battle plans; as his eyes fill with tears, the warbler again rejoices. Whereas in the first act the story of his pet warbler's death served to underscore Falk's qualms of conscience following the banishment of Cornelius, the warbler of the last act—precisely synchronized with the rising action—serves only to confuse and weaken the issues since the emotions which it is to symbolize are not dramatically developed. This is unfortunate especially since

the scene in which Margarete leaves to join Cornelius is meant to represent the culmination of the dramatic action.

The second symbol, similarly forced and inadequate, but fortunately much less significant, is Cornelius' robe. It represents him as it falls between Margarete and Falk or is stepped on according to the emotions they feel. But for these regrettable efforts to achieve theatrical effects, the essence of Falk's tragedy—his spiritual and emotional suicide in order to save Cornelius, to permit Margarete to follow the latter's religious leadership, and to preserve his own integrity—stand out in sharpest relief.

Von Arx has clear historical insight, and he also has the ability to unite personality and history convincingly. He develops his ideas through the intrinsically dramatic situations of his characters and portrays neither historical-religious concepts nor personalities one at the expense of the other, as is often the case among writers of fiction on Anabaptist themes. Cornelius, for instance, is more than a mere incarnation of doctrine; he is a personality who wins responsive sympathy from the reader. Conversely, Falk's tragedy is not one which von Arx has forced from the historical situation, but one which is inherent in it. Much of the strength of the tragic impact of *Brüder in Christo* can be attributed to the excellent co-ordination of the historical, the ideological, and the human.

Wilhelm Kosch wrote in *Die Furche* (Vienna, June 28, 1947):

> Gelang dem Dichter im *Heiligen Helden* [a drama on Niklaus von der Flüe] eine wunderbare Synthese irdischer und metaphysischer Elemente, so wirken die in menschlichen Leidenschaften verstrickten "Brüder in Christo" durch ihre erdhafte Lebensverbundenheit auch auf ein Publikum, das sonst keiner religiösen Erhebung fähig ist. Niklaus von der Flüe hat den alten Adam ausgezogen und wandelt sich vor unseren Augen zum Heiligen in einer uns unerreichbaren Höhe. Zwingli dagegen ist kein Heiliger, sondern Menschen, persönlichen Affekten und zeitlichen Strebungen unterworfen. In sinnfälligen Bildern voll höchster Ausdruckskraft lässt der Dichter den streitbaren Reformator mit seimem wildbewegten Jahrhundert und seiner stürmischen Umwelt vor uns lebendig werden. Die urwüchsige Eigenart seiner Sprache, die sich manchmal bis zur sprichwörtlichen Formung steigert und auch dialektischer Zutat nicht entbehrt, um das Schweizer Kolorit zu wahren, zwingt uns stets aufs neue in ihren Bann.

Brüder in Christo is free of the partisan weighting which has been an unfortunate characteristic of much fiction on religious themes. Von Arx's approach is that of the tragedian rather than that of a writer committed to any religious idea. Although he is critical of Zwingli's compromise, he makes him appealing in his dedication to his own principle. Although he is impressed by the absolute ethic of the Anabaptists, he recognizes the difficulty of carrying it out in

life. Far from presenting an easy answer to religious problems, he is able to sense the inherent values and weaknesses in varying types of religious commitment, as well as to grasp the problematics and the potential tragedy in such commitment.

Anabaptism in *Brüder in Christo* forms one aspect of a tragic conflict which, rather than the theological concept per se, is of primary importance, Von Arx wrote:

> Der Konflikt, den ich in meinem historisch gewandeten Schauspiel zur Darstellung bringe, ist nicht an die Historie gebunden, er ist nicht von einer geschichtlichen Gegebenheit gesetzt und bedingt—er ist er uns Menschen von heute in härtester Ausprägung bedrängt: Die Diskrepanz zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit, die Unvereinbarkeit von Realität und sittlicher Forderung, der Zwang zum Kompromiss.[4]

He says of his portrait of Cornelius:

> Dass ich das Täufertum in seiner edelsten, reinsten und schlackenlosen Sublimierung, in der Figur des fast heilig ammutenden Cornelius und nicht in seinen Auswüchsen darstellte, hat seinen Grund darin, dass ich nicht so sehr das Täufertum in seiner historischen Manifestation, alas das von ihm propagierte Urchristentum in Cornelius zu verkörpern trachte. Ich hätte ebensogut einen Waldenser oder Albingenser oder sonst einen frühmittelalterlichen "Ketzer" wählen können, denn das Täufertum war nicht der erste und einzige Versuch, die in der Bergpredigt geforderte Nachfolge Christi zu realisieren. Um *diese* aber geht es mir, sie steht auch heute wieder in der ganzen Welt zur Diskussion.[5]

However, in spite of its purely symbolic function, von Arx portrays Anabaptism accurately both in spirit and historical fact, an achievement made possible by his fortunate reliance on two leading historians of Anabaptism: Walther Köhler and Leonhard von Muralt. His choice of them from among a large number of more popular, less accurate authors is a credit to him. He understands that the break of the Anabaptists with the Reformers was caused by their concept of the church as a fellowship of believers dedicated to absolute obedience to the New Testament rather than as a protective cloak for the nation as Luther and Zwingli came to believe it to be. Normally authors of Anabaptist fiction, and even many historians, concern themselves only with more obvious issues such as nonresistance or adult baptism. Von Arx sees those issues rightly as peripheral, arising from an essential difference in the concept of the church. When Cornelius replies to Zwingli's assertion that if the world were composed of Anabaptists its social order would soon collapse by say-

4 Lecture on *Brüder in Christo* given in connection with performances of the drama in several Swiss cities. Unpublished manuscript of 25 pages in the possession of August Kamber, p. 17.

5 "In eigener Sache," 2.

ing, "Was liegt an der Welt? *Sein* Reich komme!" (49) he is expressing the essential difference in orientation between Zwingli and the Anabaptists.

Von Arx sees that baptism as a token of admission into the disciples' church must be an indication that life is already renewed, not a symbol of hope for renewal. An infant cannot become a member of a disciples' church. Falk says:

> Dem Bekenntnis müsse die Erkenntnis vorausgeh'n—und also sei es nicht weniger töricht, ein unmündig Kind auf Christus zu taufen, denn man siegle ein unbeschrieben Papier. Wie erst die Schrift das Papier zum Brief, so mache das Leben erst den Menschen zum Christen (24).

He emphasizes correctly the centrality of the Scriptures among Anabaptists, who substituted naive Biblicism for systematic theology. Margarete, Falk, and Cornelius often refer to the Scriptures with the implication that they must be obeyed to the letter—that not a single New Testament command must be violated, for whatever end. For instance, in giving final instructions for her maid, Margarete insists that she must leave behind all her expensive possessions when she follows Cornelius to the Anabaptists, who, she says, follow Christ's command to give everything to the poor.

Zwingli, on the contrary, refers to Scripture seldom and when he does distorts it to support his own rationale. He begins and ends with pragmatic reasoning. He answers Falk's ironic though kind appeal to him for mercy on the basis of Scripture: "Liebet einander, wie ich euch geliebet habe!" by saying, "Sollen wir um der Liebe willen die Wahrheit preisgeben?" (51) Although he is just as desirous as Falk of discovering the will of God and just as sincere in his approach to Scripture, his emotional orientation causes him to identify his practical aspirations with divine purpose.

It must be emphasized that von Arx is one of the very few writers on an Anabaptist theme who are able to distinguish between genuine Anabaptists and the revolutionary chiliastic wing. He was certainly aware of the popular confusion of the two, for early in the drama he appears to be at pains to correct it when he has Herzog Uz say: "In Deutschland erzählt man, der Weissrock wär' von den heimlichen Täufern als der kommende König in Zion beredt. Für viele sei er der wiedererstandene Thomas Müntzer"; and Zwingli answers: "Dann hätt sich der Müntzer im Grabe gehäutet, sintemal der Weissrock [Cornelius] alle Gewalt verpönt, der Müntzer dagegen just mit Gewalt das Reich Gottes auf Erden errichten wollte." Duke Uz replies, "Täufer ist Täufer" (16). Von Arx is also familiar with the details of Anabaptist history. For instance, in 1527, two years before

he has Cornelius and Margarete flee to Moravia to a communal life, there actually was an exodus of persecuted Zürich Anabaptists to Moravia, where they were tolerated; and 1529 was the year in which the Moravians (the only communistic evangelical Anabaptists) instituted community of goods.

Von Arx may have based Falk and Cornelius on Jacob Grebel and his son Conrad—Jacob a member of the Zürich City Council and a close friend of Zwingli, and Conrad founder of the Zürich Anabaptists. Although the elder Grebel remained in the Reformed Church, he was condemned to death by the Council for an act not considered worthy of the death sentence at that time (receiving foreign subsidies), and historians speculate that the actual cause of his sentence may have been his son's Anabaptist connections. Georg Blaurock, a Zürich Anabaptist who got his name from the blue coat he wore, may have been another source for Cornelius, who is called Weissrock because of his white robe, the symbol of his authority. Blaurock's robe, however, had no religious significance.

In *Brüder in Christo* the ideological as well as the personal tensions remain unresolved. Falk's bargain with Zwingli forces him into the genuinely tragic situation in which he is obliged to do violence to some of his convictions in order not to violate others. He is faced with a choice not between good and evil but between what appear to him to be two evils. In his decision to free Cornelius and to co-operate with Zwingli and in the consequent loss of Margarete, he loses not only earthly happiness but also spiritual happiness and the possibility of pursuing a pure ethic as well. Thus, symbolically, the ideal world is overwhelmed by the world of reality.

Von Arx described his attitude toward the tragic conflict of *Brüder in Christo* thus:

> Und wenn man von mir wissen will, wie ich mich persönlich zum Problem stelle, so bekenne ich, dass ich die Rettung der Welt vor dem Untergang, der uns heute mehr denn je bedroht, einzig und allein in der kompromisslosen Befolgung der christlichen Gebote zu sehen vermag. . . . Wozu uns alle geistige Erkenntnis der früheren Jahrhunderte nicht zu bringen mag, dazu zwingt uns jetzt die ungeheure Entwicklung der Technik. Ich glaube nicht mehr an die erhaltende Macht des Kompromisses, ich glaube nur an ein Entweder-Oder. Ob die Menschheit allerdings auch die Kraft haben wird, die Entscheidung zum Guten zu treffen und ob wir überhaupt ohne Kompromisse leben können, daran wiederum zweifle ich. Zwischen Glaube und Zweifel aber liegt die Tragik des Erkennens

(Continued on page 136)

ANABAPTISM IN WUERTTEMBERG

GERHARD HEIN*

Modern Württemberg is composed of the former duchy of Württemberg, the gravures of Hohenberg, Hohenlohe, Limpurg, Löwenstein, part of the margravure of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the Landvogtei of Swabia, the realm of the counts of Thurn and Taxis, eighteen imperial cities, and numberous knightly estates and monasteries. In the time of the Reformation these were still independent. After the time of Napoleon, that is, after 1801, the Mennonites of all Württemberg are included here.

In 1520-1534 the duchy was under the domination of Austria, since the Swabian League had expelled Duke Ulrich because of a murder and had sold the country to Austria. The Anabaptists had been active here before the execution of Michael Sattler in May 1527. The government had become attentive to this movement proceeding from Horb and Rottenberg, and from Esslingen and Gmünd. On January 26, 1528, King Ferdinand gave orders to the Württemberg government as to procedure with the Anabaptists. The Anabaptists were classed with murderers, arsonists, and vagabonds. The provost of the Swabian League, Berthold Aichelin, also carried on his nefarious work in this duchy and here came to an infamous end. The trial of Augustin Bader took place in Stuttgart. With his execution the small chiliastic revolutionary group in Württemberg had come to an end. But the regular peaceful Anabaptists were active here continuously from 1526. The Hutterian Brethren also were active and sent emissaries from Moravia, who won more and more new followers in this country which had meanwhile been subject to a famine. The Swiss Brethren found the greatest response. After Michael Sattler had gathered these quiet Anabaptists, who were entirely bent upon living a holy life quite in accord with the Scripture like the first Anabaptists in Zürich, this group established itself firmly in Württemberg. Not until the Thirty Years' War did this type of Anabaptism die out. The Anabaptist striving for sanctification, however, continued later in Pietism within the established church.

The Anabaptist literature was feared. All booksellers' wares were checked. The Anabaptists were not only accused of murder and arson but they were also blamed for the increase in divorces. Indeed, continuance of marriage with an unbeliever was a very serious question for an Anabaptist.

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The Austrian government condemned Aichelin's brutal proceedings and tried to hold strictly to legal process. But this process provided for capital punishment for Anabaptists. The Swabian spirit rebelled against such measures. Even though the government might have the imperial mandates solemnly read in the churches, an effort was still made to convert the Anabaptists by having preachers and university professors debate with them. Only the most obstinate were punished with death. A Hutterite martyr catalog of 1531 names 55 from Württemberg out of a total of 410. A later catalog of 1581 counts 67 from Württemberg among a total of 2,169 blood witnesses. But these figures are not exact. There were more victims in Württemberg than these, since it has been shown that there are more places in which capital punishment was applied than those named in these sketches.

When Duke Ulrich returned to his country in 1534-1550, Anabaptist executions ceased. To be sure, the Strasbourg Reformers Capito and Bucer warned the Duke against the Anabaptists and against Schwenckfeld. In the Peace of Kaaden Ulrich obligated himself to punish them. But the treatment grew more lenient. On June 18, 1535, Ulrich's first Anabaptist mandate concerning the treatment of recanting Anabaptists was published. These recanters were to give up all connections with Anabaptists and to obey the government in all things, hence also to attend the established religious services and communion; "corner preachers" traveling through were to be reported like vagabonds; backsliders were to be punished with death. At first the horror of the events in Münster in 1534-35 affected the Duke's judgment. But after its fall Ulrich sought advice of the jurists at the University of Tübingen. Their answer of June 9,1536, to be sure, pointed to the imperial law requiring the death of such Anabaptists, but it recommended lenience. The theologians advised lenience because these simple people "see in these mild spirits such a fine appearance of life and, on the other hand, with us and the great crowd of our people unfortunately such a wild, bold, and degraded life." The death penalty, they said, would deprive the victim of the possibility of conversion. Arrest would prevent infection and would give opportunity for a change of mind. Expulsion from the country, they said, is unbrotherly since in that way ruin goes to the other countries. Here they were expressing the ideas of Johannes Brenz, the Reformer of Nürnberg.

The ducal regulation of 1536 emanates from these views of the theologians and jurists. Anabaptists were arrested and under the threat of the rack were questioned (1) regarding any possible partici-

pation in the Peasants' War; (2) concerning the time, place, participants, leaders, and the reason of Anabaptism; (3) concerning infant baptism, communion, the oath, the Christian character of the government, and participation in war; (4) concerning the restoration of all things, concerning the sonship of Christ and His sufficient atonement; (5) concerning possible recantation. If they recanted they had to give up all Anabaptist living and under oath vow obedience to the temporal and to the spiritual authorities. Backsliding would be punished by death. The leaders were questioned more strictly, probably under torture, concerning their adherents, their peculiar doctrine, whether they had anything to do with Münster or Moravia, concerning their signs of recognition, whether they had any plans for violence. The authorities feared the overthrow of all social order. As a punishment banishment was provided as well as confiscation of property, and death in the case of illegal return. Skilled clergymen were engaged to instruct the prisoners.

An Anabaptist by the name of Hans Fritz of Dettingen said in 1565 that he had previously been questioned by Erhard Schnepf and others but that he had been permitted to keep his faith. Proceedings were thus apparently not violent.

The Anabaptists preferably stayed near the state borders. They held their meetings at secluded places. Popular with them was the song written by Jörg Wagner, who was burned at the stake at Munich in 1527. They recognized each other by the greeting, "The grace of the Lord be with us all."

A number of noblemen gave them protection and lodging in their villages; for example, the Weittershausens at Bromberg near Hohenhaslach, the Nippenburgs in Schwieberdingen and Hemmingen, the Thumbs in Köngen and Stetten. The Anabaptist economic capability and honesty stood them in good stead. Their nonresistance made them adaptable.

The interim government of Charles V brought the Anabaptists a certain lessening of danger; the attention of the authorities was diverted. Since the Moravian Landtag of 1547 decided not to tolerate more than five to seven persons living in one house, the Bruderhofs of the Hutterian Brethren had consequently become impossible there, and some of them returned to their old homes. A more careful distinction was now made in Württemberg between the Hutterian Brethren, the Swiss Brethren, and the Schwenckfelders. The earnestness of the Anabaptists was recognized; but the fear of possible revolutionary efforts continued for a long time and accounts for Ulrich's serious doubts even about the peaceful Anabaptists.

Under Duke Christoph, 1550-1568, the Anabaptist movement increased, probably in consequence of the work of the Hutterian Brethren in the country. The Treaty of Passau gave the Duke a free hand. In 1553 the church inspection regulation stipulated that the superintendents and the church councils should consult together four times a year concerning the Anabaptists and the Schwenckfelders. Thus the Württemberg synod owes its creation to the struggle with the "sects." On June 14,1554, an order was issued not only against "Kaspar Schwenckfeld's own accursed person," but also against the Anabaptists. Jacob Andreae no doubt incited the Duke to this measure; he had had to deal with Anabaptists from Stauffen in his parish at Göppingen. The order required church attendance, forbade all meetings of Anabaptists, and required immediate reports about everything. The trial in 1557 of the Rapp brothers reveals the Duke's zeal for pure doctrine. Brenz and the court chaplain Bidembach took the greatest pains to convert the two brothers. With the younger one they succeeded, but the older one remained stiff-necked and was expelled from the country. At the disputation at Pfeddersheim on August 24, 1557, Andreae won to his side the magistrate (Vogt) of Alzey who had favored the Anabaptists.

In Worms Brenz and Andreae in 1557 took part in composing the *Prozess wie es soll gehalten werden mit den Wiedertäufern.* Brenz was a signatory. But it is somewhat remarkable that the recommendation of the death penalty and the reference to Servetus' execution is crossed out. Who did this can no longer be ascertained, whether Brenz or the Duke. But the crossing out is evidence of the strong feeling in Württemberg against the shedding of blood in spite of Lev. 24:16, "He that blasphemeth . . . shall surely be put to death."

On June 25, 1558, Duke Christoph issued the mandate that remained authoritative for dealing with all sectarians, including the Anabaptists. It gives the exact questions by which the Anabaptists were to be cross-examined. If the leaders did not give adequate answers they were to be tortured. Repentant ones were to recant before the assembled congregation. Obstinate ones were to be kept in prison. Property confiscated from the Anabaptists was to be used for the expenses of the prisoners and for their innocent dependents. One of the questions asked was whether a Christian may dismiss his wife for confessional reasons, and how many wives one may have.

The Duke's zeal induced the people of Esslingen on July 5, 1562, to arrest some Swiss Brethren who were at a meeting in the Heinbachtal and to examine them. The prisoners were all from Württemberg. They were dismissed after a few weeks upon their promise to

avoid the city. In 1563 an Anabaptist, Barbara Löffler of Stuttgart, was branded because she had backslidden into Anabaptism. In 1557 began the nineteen-year imprisonment of the Hutterite Paul Glock in Hohenwittlingen.

The verdict of popular opinion concerning the Duke's zeal to preserve the pure doctrine was, "The pope compelled us to attend communion with the ban, but you with the tower [prison]," as an Anabaptist said in 1565. Everywhere the Anabaptists sought earnestly for sanctification. In 1569 an Anabaptist exile wrote to the government: "It gave me offense to see that so many go to the Lord's Supper heedlessly out of old habit; they are this year like last year and last year like this year and I have not seen any change in them nor any laying aside of the old Adam."

The Lutheran state church was established under Duke Christoph. Brenz's idea that heretics should be attacked only with the Word disappeared. In 1557 Andreae still preached his thirty-three sermons against all sectarians including the Anabaptists, but without success. Nevertheless for the sake of their clarity they are worth reading.

The bad life of many an official under Duke Louis, 1568-1593, and a number of famines induced many Württembergers to follow the call to Moravia as the promised land of all Anabaptists. Twice a year their missioners appeared in the country. But the Swiss Brethren were also at work, though very quietly. The period of the developing Formula of Concord, to which Jacob Andreae was giving his attention, was a time of strong increase of Anabaptism in Moravia as well as in Württemberg. The tone of the records becomes harder. A marginal note, "Just deal harshly with this little rabble of rogues," may have come from the Duke. The Anabaptist leaders are now called "work devils" and their preaching a "chattering." The Anabaptist regulation was revised and expanded in 1570-1571. A clear distinction was made now between leaders and the simple Anabaptists. The rack was used more frequently; the introduction of capital punishment was considered but rejected. In the period of the Duke's minority outstanding officials and theologians paid close attention to the Anabaptists. The witch trials compelled everyone everywhere to make a clear statement of faith. What was one to say about divorce for reasons of faith? How should one deal with people who secretly lodged their Anabaptist relatives? Should one leave Anabaptist wives in the country or expel them if their families remained true to the church? What should one do with children of Anabaptists? Should they be baptized and taken from their parents, or should they be per-

mitted to leave the country with their parents? What should become of the lords who had taken Anabaptists on their estates? A number of questions had to be discussed and newly regulated. In 1584 the regulation was again reviewed and sharpened.

The theologians expressed themselves as opposed to the death penalty which had been advised by the jurists, Biedenbach in 1570 and more especially Lukas Osiander in 1584. One of Osiander's main arguments was that the Papists might also apply the death penalty against the Protestants if one used it against Anabaptists. The Duke decided to wait and to follow the milder way. The numerous church inspections occurring twice annually after 1573 brought much difficulty and annoyance but little success. When an Anabaptist escaped out of the country there was occasionally a note in the margin of the records, "Is probably outside." If the inspection brought an Anabaptist to the preaching or communion service, a "thank God" shows the mind of the church council. Often, however, one reads: "One must commit it to God."

Duke Frederick, 1593-1608, who was always in need of money, had the land procurator Esslinger ascertain the exact amount of the Anabaptist estates, and rent them out. The proceeds were to go directly to the Duke instead of to the church treasury. He wanted to use the money for the church in his newly founded Freudenstadt. Thus the question of faith became one of finances. The most dubious thing was that even the young theologians began to occupy themselves with the books of the Anabaptists. Menno's *Foundation Book* and the hymns of the Swiss Brethren were found among them now and then.

The property of the Anabaptists was reckoned after 1604 at some 55,293 guilders. In 1630 there were still 24,000 guilders. After this there is no official estimate concerning the Anabaptists and their property.

In the Thirty Years War the Anabaptists finally died out in Württemberg. Individual Anbaptists found there later were only temporarily in the country.

The Anabaptists of Württemberg were usually peasants and vinedressers. But occasionally there were also other vocations represented among them, particularly physicians. For example, Jörg Wernlin called Scherer, who died *c*1559 in Kirchenkirnberg and is often named as a zealous leader of the Swiss Brethren, remained in the country for a long time; he had once vainly sought connections with the Hutterian Brethren in Moravia. Indeed, even a Lutheran deacon, M. Johann Walch, had to be dismissed in 1582, who at first

emigrated to Moravia, but later went to Strasbourg and from there kept in contact with the Swiss Brethren in Württemberg.

According to the Anabaptist census of December 4, 1570, there were 129 Anabaptists in the duchy; in the district of Lorch alone there were 109. In official circles the number of stiff-necked ones was reckoned at at least 100, who were to be kept in permanent imprisonment and which would cause an expense of 5,000 guilders annually.

In Moravia many "Swabians" (Anabaptists who stemmed from Württemberg) occupied outstanding positions among the Hutterian Brethren. Among their bishops was Sebastian Dietrich of Markgröningen, a widely renowned physician, 1611-1619. His successors, Ulrich Jaussling (Jaussle, Jausel) 1619-1621, Valentin Winter 1622-1631, and Heinrich Hartman 1631-1639, were probably also Swabians. Andreas Ehrenpreis, 1639-1662, stemmed from Illingen. He was the object of a written attack by the Stuttgart provost Melchior Nicolai in 1650. His successor, Johann Rieger (Rinker, Rükker), 1662-1687, was probably from Hohenstaufen. He was replaced by Johann Milter, 1687-1688, of Dettingen near Kirchheim; then followed by Caspar Eglauch of Bartenbach 1688-1693; Tobias Bertsch 1694-1701 was from the Maulbronn district; Zacharias Walter, the grandson of the founder of the Anabaptist settlement in Alwinz in Transylvania, who had come from Oetisheim, was their last bishop, 1746-1761. Also among the Hutterite preachers and managers there was a series of Swabians—Hasel, Glock, Binder, Hans Schmidt, and Wernlin.

By 1570 the various forms of Anabaptism were well recognized in Württemberg; distinctions were made between the Hutterites, the Moserites, the Hofer Brethren, in contradistinction to the Davidjorists, the Münsterites, and the followers of Servetus. The Hofer group were an offshoot of the Hutterites; the Moser group must have been Swiss Brethren. The difference between the Hutterites and the Swiss Brethren lay not only in the question of private or communal property but also in doctrine. But common to both was the striving for holiness, which always made an impression on the churchmen. One found among them, the "poor erroneous but not bad-hearted people, a great, ardent, but unintelligent zeal," whereas the people of the Black Forest thought: "He who does not carry a sword and leads an inoffensive life is an Anabaptist." In 1574 it was said in Rosenfeld, "If one does not curse or go into the tavern, one is an Anabaptist." The magistrates, however, said from their experience that they had never yet heard of a Hutterite who had denied his faith. Life and doctrine were in their case integrated, as was said in Gündel-

bach. The Junker of Gemmingen had an Anabaptist buried honorably in the cemetery, saying that he considered him a saved man; if he were to die today or tomorrow he would not want to get into any other heaven but the one into which this Anabaptist had gone. Such voices testify to the impression made by the quiet walk of the Swiss Brethren as well as by the steadfastness of the Hutterian Brethren. The Anabaptists differed sharply from Schwenckfeld, as is clearly shown in the dispute between Schwenckfeld and Pilgram Marpeck, but a quiet life and striving for holiness was characteristic of both groups. Conspicuous in the Anabaptist testimonies is the frequent use of the fourth book of Ezra and the preference for the Epistle of James. Besides their greeting, another common point of distinction was their homemade, simple clothing.

After 1571 obstinate Anabaptist women were forged to chains. A church funeral was denied Anabaptists, and many were branded. The leaders were often held in prison for many years. Paul Glock was released only because the Duke pardoned him for his outstanding work in extinguishing a fire.

The same villages in which Anabaptists had once appeared later showed inclinations toward Pietism. The church managed to keep the Pietists in the fold, especially through the influence of J. A. Bengel in the Pietist Edict of 1743, since the leaders recognized that these Pietists were striving for quiet conduct, for holiness, and for edification; indeed the church often won them as energetic promoters of the church life. This it had failed to do in the case of the Anabaptists.

A part of the Anabaptists in South Germany, the immediate followers of Pilgram Marpeck and Leupold Scharnschlager, *c*1530-1555, seem to have formed a group somewhat distinct from the Swiss Brethren, although the differences were not great. They were sometimes called "Pilgramites." J. J. Kiwiet considers this group to have originated as followers of Hans Denck and Hans Hut, rather than of Michael Sattler and his associates, and thus to have had a distinct origin from the Swiss Brethren proper. He holds that Marpeck succeeded in bringing together his group and the Swiss Brethren by about 1555, as well as the remnants of the Hofmannites. No doubt there were Pilgramites in Württemberg, although the *Täuferakten* for Württemberg contains no references to this group, and the only group name that appears in the official records is Swiss Brethren.

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und Schwenckfelder)" in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* XXXIII (1929) 1-41; *idem,* "Wiedertäuferbischöfe aus Württemberg und Schwaben ausserhalb Schwabens," in *Schwäbischer Merkur,* June 9, 1930, and Feb. 8, 1923; Julius Rauscher, *Württembergische Reformationsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1934); Hans Hillerbrand, *Die politische Ethik des oberdeutschen Täufertums* (Gütersloh, 1960); H. W. Schraepler, *Die rechtliche Behandlung der Täufer in der deutschen Schweiz, Südwestdeutschland und Hessen* (Weierhof and Tübingen, 1957); Eberhard Teufel, "Die Beschlagnahme und Verwaltung des Täufergutes durch den Fiskus im Herzogtum Württemberg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel) VIII (1952) 296-304; Jan J. Kiwiet, *Pilgram Marbeck* (Kassel, 1957).

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verargen, wenn ich von ihm annehme, dass es ihm entweder an Objektivität oder an Intelligenz gebricht," he exclaimed.[22] The necessity of such a defense represented a sad disappointment for the dramatist, who had earlier said of *Brüder in Christo* (January 23, 1946): "Es soll ein Gipfelpunkt meines Schaffens werden und vielleicht das letzte historische Drama."[23]

22 "In eigener Sache," p. 2.
23 G. von Arx, *Tagebuch,* p. 50.

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—und aus solcher zutiefst erlebten, persönlich erfahrenen Tragik habe ich mein Werk *Brüder in Christo* geschrieben.[6]

Falk, however, is genuinely and impressively heroic in his reaction to his tragic insight. This fact rescues the drama from nihilism and makes it a vehicle of von Arx's avowed aim in all his serious dramas, "den Menschen wieder wert zu machen."

6 *Ibid.,* p. 2-3.

THE REACTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITE IMMIGRANTS OF THE 1870'S TO THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

MELVIN GINGERICH*

From 1873 to 1883 about 18,000 Mennonites immigrated from Russia to North America. Of these, 8,000 settled in Manitoba. Nearly all of the remaining 10,000 settled in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Dakota, Kansas receiving the largest number.[1]

Although this exodus to the American frontier was the first long journey for these 18,000, their forefathers had know immigration. A century before, they had come to southern Russia from Prussia when Catherine the Great had offered them religious freedom, exemption from military service, and other privileges which they were no longer able to enjoy freely in the land of the Hohenzollerns. Nor had Prussia up to this time always been their home. As early as the middle of the sixteenth century the first of their Mennonite forefathers had come to northeastern Prussia from Holland upon the invitation of noblemen who wanted industrious farmers to improve their swampy lands.

Now from 1873 to 1883, almost a century after their last migration, these Mennonites of Dutch ancestry were once more on the march in search of religious freedom. A few years earlier the Russian government had abrogated some of the special privileges extended to them by Catherine the Great. When compulsory military training was introduced in 1870, the new law produced great anxiety among the Mennonites, since the refusal of military service was a primary tenet of their faith.

After several delegations had failed to obtain a renewal of military exemption from the Russian government, plans were made to emigrate. But where could they go? Leonhard Sudermann, one of their leaders who had already been thrice sent to obtain concessions from the Russian government, was chosen along with eleven others from the various Russian Mennonite colonies to visit America in search of a new home for his people. In his "A Deputation Voyage from Russia to America" he tells us,

> It took great thought to take America into consideration. America, in our estimation, was a place for adventurers and a refuge of law breakers. How could one expect to enjoy the tranquility of a home with vineyards and fig orchards in such a raw civilization?

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1 Georg Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites to the United States and Canada, 1873-1880," *MQR* VII (1933) 5-41.

> Even people who carried loaded revolvers and are accustomed to the rule of guns would be shy of such a place, but we who carried no guns doubted very much the appropriateness of America as a home.[2]

When the delegates returned to Russia with a favorable report, many Mennonite farmers sold their land and made arrangements to leave for America. Plans were made to assist the poor so that no one wishing to emigrate would be disappointed. The Russian government then became alarmed and took various measures to keep her excellent farmers from leaving the country. When government forestry service was offered in lieu of military service, the majority of Mennonites decided to remain in their comfortable homes; 18,000, however, were not satisfied with the official offer and left for America.

It is difficult to conceive the hardships that confronted the first 900 Russian Mennonite families who came to Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas, in the years 1873 and 1874. Here they were on the American frontier, strangers in a strange land. They could not understand the language of their American neighbors, they had to watch constantly that others did not take advantage of them, and they had to cope with new pests, new diseases, and new problems of farming. Problems of fuel, housing, and a water supply confronted them. Their resources in most cases were meager and their faith was tested to the limit. This paper will attempt to show how these newcomers reacted to these problems and conditions on the American frontier.

We know the response of many of these settlers to these frontier conditions. From private letters and diaries we may piece together the story. In reports and letters to a half dozen Mennonite church papers in America and Europe, we can find their reactions. And in a considerable number of old settlers' stories in pamphlet form or in newspaper articles, we may catch the most lasting impressions of their early years on the American frontier.[3]

Among those who had urged the Mennonites to move to America was Cornelius Jansen, a Prussian consul at the Black Sea grain port of Berdiansk. As a result of his activities on behalf of emigration, he was expelled by the Russian government in 1873. After living in Ontario for a short time, he brought his family to Mount Pleasant, Iowa, in the spring of 1874. From his Mount Pleasant headquarters, he helped his Russian Mennonite friends select farms and buy equipment.

2 Leonhard Sudermann, *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika* (Elkhart, 1897). Sudermann's diary is in the possesion of the Mennonite Historical Library, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

3 Much of the source material used for this paper is in the Bethel College Historical Library, North Newton, Kansas.

Mr. Jansen was one of those whose impressions of America and its frontier were on the whole favorable. Perhaps it was the excellent reception he received in Washington that caused him to maintain an optimistic outlook. In a talk to the Conversational Club of Mount Pleasant in November 1875, printed in the *Free Press* of that city, he tells them,

> I will never forget how the President Grant . . . listened with sympathy to me and my eldest son when we told him the circumstances of our people, and how he expressed this afterwards openly, for which he certainly could not expect to gain acknowledgment from the selfish world. Also from several kind-hearted secretaries, the senators Windom, Stewart, Cameron, and many other high officers, we experienced much encouraging kindness; even that well-known warrior General Sherman refused not, when we were introduced to him, to answer to the remark, "But you cannot make warriors out of these," shaking our hands cordially, "You are heartily welcome here, for you can be useful even if you do not fight."[4]

Jansen's eldest son, Peter, was much impressed by Mount Pleasant and its people. According to the *Free Press* of November 12, 1874, "Mr. Jansen says that in all his travels he has met no town he likes better than Mt. Pleasant, no people with whom he is better pleased, and he is glad to return to it after his travels and labors farther west."

The elder Jansen, however, must not have been favorably impressed by the neighboring river city of Burlington, for the daughter confides in her diary that when one of the brothers found employment in that city at fifty-five dollars a month, "Father told him he did not wish to have any of his children live there." The writer of the diary, too, is "sorry that it has to be in Burlington."

The common attitude of suspicion of strangers whose language is foreign showed itself among these people as they met the Americans in the trans-Mississippi West. The fact that most of them had had few contacts with strangers except with peddlers who called on them in their Russian homes occasionally may be the explanation of the following story. After the Jansens had helped in bringing a large number of families to Lincoln, Nebraska, Mr. Jansen ran an advertisement in the October 1, 1874, *Daily Journal* of that city, stating that the Mennonites wished to buy fifty horses, fifty work oxen, and fifty milch cows. Those who had such to sell should bring them to the Market Square on October 7. Althought the sale was well attended only a few purchases were made. A week later the paper reported that a pair of seven-year-olds with harness and wagon, worth about $425, had been offered for $200. After carefully examining the out-

4 *The Free Press* (Mt. Pleasant, Iowa) January 27, 1876.

fit for an hour, the prospective buyer offered $125. In another case, one of the immigrants offered $25 for a mare worth $125. This was too much for the owner, who said, "Dog-gone you, get away from here and let me go to a white man's country. I've got enough of this."[5]

P. R. Kaufman in his story, "The Transplanting of 1874," explains that his people had been used to buying from the peddlers who always asked twice the sale price, and so they tried to do business in this manner in America. One of their men went into a hardware store to buy a whetstone. After a time the dealer understood what was wanted. The immigrant asked the price and then offered half the amount, whereupon the dealer, thinking he wanted a stone only half that size, broke it in two and handed him one half. The embarrassed immigrant to save further trouble gave the merchant the full amount and hurriedly left with his half whetstone.[6]

C. J. Janzen, in his series of articles on "Old Reminiscences" in the paper *Vorwärts,* describes how the immigrants sometimes were made the victims of unfair dealings because of their ignorance of American ways and laws. They learned that their property was being assessed higher than that of their non-Mennonite neighbors. Soon some of their young men learned the English language, became American citizens, were elected assessors, and changed the assessments. Nor did they understand the mortgage system and several of them bought mortgaged land and to their surprise had to pay off high mortgages. Later they learned that information covering these points was on record in the courthouses.[7]

No doubt many of them had feared meeting the Indians. P. A. Flickner, in his story of the immigration and pioneer life recorded in *Der Herold,* states that as they traveled through Germany after leaving Russia, people said, "What do you want in America? There one finds robbers, the scum and outcasts of the entire world. And above all there are the wild tribes of Indians, who must be fought. They will soon scalp you."[8]

To disillusion his European friends, P. Ewert of Marion County, Kansas, in January 1875, wrote to the editor of the *Mennonitische Blätter:*

> All the gossip about Indian raids that many of the emigrants had to endure, that is pure invention. Such an event is not to be feared here at all. My children are anxious to see such children of the wilderness, but in spite of the fact that they often travel about, they

5 Quoted by Theodore Schmidt in his unpublished master's thesis, *The Mennonites of Nebraska* (University of Nebraska, 1930) 17.
6 P. R. Kaufman, *Unser Volk und seine Geschichte* (Basil, Kansas, 1931), 136.
7 *Vorwärts* (Hillsboro, Kansas) April 10, 1924.
8 *Der Herold* (Newton, Kansas) January 24, 1924.

have never had this luck. I shook hands with them last year up at the Red River.[9]

Perhaps one of the most typical reactions of the Russian Mennonite to his American neighbor on the frontier was presented by P. A. Flickner in his articles on pioneer life. He says the Americans were very free with their instructions. They showed them how to keep plows from rusting and then left their own standing out in the yard. They advised the immigrants to plow deeply, but the adviser

> scratches over his a little bit, and lets it go at that. He instructs us how to sow and harvest, but he does his in the American way in all haste, not caring what he leaves behind his back. Time is too precious for him to waste it on gleaning. Time is worth much more to him than those few ears. His motto is "Time is money," and yet he cares only to get done hurriedly, so that he can kill the time together with his neighbor or friend. He also knows that one is supposed to be economical. He figures that coal is expensive and that corn is cheap. He should haul the corn to town, but since it takes time to load and unload and since he should then also have to buy coal, . . . he prefers to burn his corn. For them it was too much that we celebrated two days on Christmas, also on Easter and Pentecost or even on Good Friday. They told us that we would never be able to get ahead, but, thank God, in spite of our shortcomings (according to them) we went ahead slowly but surely.[10]

Their experiences with the railroads were in general very satisfactory. The Mount Pleasant, Iowa, *Free Press* reported Peter Jansen as speaking

> in the very highest terms of Mr. A. E. Touzalin, the Land Commissioner . . . and Mr. G. O. Manchester, Assistant Land Commissioner [representatives of the Burlington Railroad], and he wishes to say that these gentlemen acted towards his people, not only from business principles but also from a desire to assist and give them all the necessary information, and that he esteems them both very highly.[11]

There were a few unpleasant experiences. The railroads did not always take them where they wished to go. Sometimes there was confusion in the tickets obtained. One group who thought they were going to Manitoba as they left St. Paul, were chagrinned to find that a Minnesota enthusiast had placed them on a train headed for Mountain Lake, Minnesota. After discussing their plight, they decided it might as well be Minnesota as Manitoba and settled in the southwestern part of the state.[12]

In March 1875, A. Schrag from Turner County, Dakota, carried on a correspondence with David Goerz, representative of the Mennonite Board of Guardians, concerning wagons of the Russian immi-

9 *Mennonitische Blätter* (Hamburg, Germany) March 20, 1924.
10 *Der Herold,* March 20, 1924.
11 *The Free Press,* August 27, 1874.
12 F. P. Schultz, *The Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota* (Fletcher Press, University Park, Iowa, 1938), 55.

grants. Some of their wagons had been missent but it was learned that three of these Russian vehicles were at Yankton.

Mr. Schrag had reported in October that a minister had arrived in Turner County with his Russian congregation.

> A misfortune befell them, however. When they left New York, fire broke out in one of the coaches that contained the baggage and many things were burned. The company paid for it, though not full value by far. They lost much thereby, but otherwise they all arrived here safely.[13]

Perhaps no problem of pioneer life has produced more good stories than the one of learning how to drive teams of oxen. Many of their records contain references to this problem. Peter Jansen in his *Memoirs* tells how he attempted to break the Nebraska prairie with his plow and a yoke of young oxen. Becoming impatient, they ran away and finally stopped in a swamp with the water up to their flanks. He said, "When I reached the slough, quite out of breath and thoroughly disgusted, I sat down and nearly cried and wished I were back in Russia where I did not have to drive oxen."[14] A kind American neighbor happened along, however, and helping him get the oxen out of the water, showed him how to handle them.

On another occasion a boy was hauling a load of lumber to their new settlement in Nebraska. When his yoke of oxen saw a stream of water they headed directly for it and did not stop until they were in the middle of the pool. It was necessary for him to unload his wagon, get it out of the creek, and reload before he could proceed.[15]

P. R. Kaufman reported in his pioneer stories that when they arrived in Kansas his father bought a yoke of oxen, which unfortunately, did not understand German, Russian, Polish, or Yiddish. On the occasion of their first experience with them, they had difficulty in getting the oxen started. Finally they started on the run but in a few minutes they stopped and nothing could be done to persuade them to move on until two Americans came along and used effective profane English on them.

P. A. Flickner related how they had traveled rapidly all the way from Russia to central Kansas and then, traveling by ox team, they covered only seven miles in one half day. Every few feet the oxen stopped to eat grass. They concluded these animals had been thoroughly indoctrinated with the American frontier spirit of "help yourself." Later it occurred to the immigrants that the oxen did not understand German commands.[16]

13 Letter from A. Schrag to David Goerz, October 19, 1874, in the Bethel College Library.
14 *Memoirs of Peter Jansen* (Beatrice, Nebraska, 1921) 44.
15 T. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 19.
16 P. A. Flickner, "Pioniersleben," *Der Herold*, January 31, 1924.

Often the immigrants would make long trips to town for loads of lumber. Occasionally night would overtake them on the way home and if the weather was stormy, the oxen would come to a standstill and remain there until morning. The unfortunate driver would then construct a rude shelter and rest under it until the morning light appeared.

Many of the pioneers mentioned the prairie fires. They had experienced nothing like it in Russia and, according to their testimony, many would have lost their lives if their American neighbors had not come to their rescue. The February 1879 *Nebraska Ansiedler* reported in a letter from Dakota,

> Dear Brother, I am sad because seven of our brethren suffered loss through a prairie fire. The prairie fire came with a great windstorm so that in an hour nearly everything was burned up, leaving only the houses standing, although one brother lost his house too. The good Lord has punished us severely, but man must endure with patience that which God sends.

In 1874 the village of Gnadenau, Kansas, was saved from destruction when a fire, having come from fifty miles north, was stopped one-half mile from the village. An old settler seeing the fire approach rushed to the village and got the people to help him fight it. One of the immigrants said, "We would have been lost if Mr. Risley had not told us what to do, for we were so ignorant. We did not know what a prairie fire was."[17]

In November 1875 *Zur Heimath* (published by David Goerz in the interests of the recent immigrants) called their attention to the destructive prairie fires that had destroyed not only hay and crops but buildings as well. He told them it could not be too strongly emphasized that furrows must be plowed around the buildings at a much greater distance away from them than was usually done. Then on quiet days the grass between the buildings and the furrows must be burned.

The most discouraging feature of frontier life in the seventies was the grasshopper menace. The grasshoppers made their appearance in 1873, the year in which the first Russian Mennonites reached the prairie frontier, and then disappeared suddenly in 1877. Herman J. Fast, in his paper on "Pioneer Life Sketches," described the grasshopper plague of 1876 in southwestern Minnesota.

> Suddenly we noticed a dark cloud arise in the north. When it came nearer, we heard a loud rustling and to our terror it was grasshoppers. They came down and covered not only the ground but cloaked the whole north side of the house. We hastened to our well,

17 Quoted by C. C. Janzen in his unpublished dissertation, *A Social Study of the Mennonite Settlements in . . . Kansas* (University of Chicago, 1926), 35.

> full of water to its top, and covered it speedily as well as we could in such a hurry, but its surface was already under a thick layer of those nasty gluttons. . . . Of the 37 bushels which we had sowed in spring, we harvested two bushels of wheat of inferior quality.

Perhaps the most graphic description of the grasshopper plague is the letter in the *Mennonitische Blätter* written by a Kansas resident in 1874.

> Such misery as I see about me is terrible to behold. Almost three months without rain and nearly two months of grasshoppers! Terrible heat and dust with it. Often enough clouds gather, the lightning flashes, the thunder rolls, the wind roars, but only a few drops of rain fall. Every tree is bare, oak and willow, fruit trees and brushwood, grass and even the weeds, everything green has disappeared. A peculiar sight, November with summer heat. There is not a leaf on our peach trees, no fruit remains, but only the stones of the fruit hang there as sad reminders. The grasshoppers cover them from the top to the roots and are now eating the bark. We can't even go outside the door without them flying up in swarms and blinding us so that we can hardly see. In the evening one must pick them off each piece of clothing. They even eat the clothes and the curtains on the windows. When one hangs out wash to dry, one must stay there until it is dry, and not take one's eyes off it a moment, for fear that it will be ruined in a few minutes. One can simply not describe this plague to those who have not experienced it. . . . It often happens that the trains are held up by them. I can not even save my house flowers. My geraniums . . . are gone in spite of the fact that I kept them in the house and did everything I could to save them.[18]

Other comments from the Russian Mennonite immigrants had to do with the relative advantages of Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and Minnesota. Cornelius Jansen and his son Peter were consistent boosters for Nebraska. The younger man was convinced that the grasshoppers were worse in Kansas than in Nebraska, for "where he met one emigrant returning from Nebraska, he met two returning from Kansas. Some of his people had located in the latter state, but he thought they would not be well satisfied. He thinks that state's not so well adapted to agriculture, and more subject to drought than Nebraska."[19] The Burlington Railroad, too, in its German pamphlets tried to persuade the Russian Mennonites that Nebraska had the greatest advantage.[20]

Just as the Jansens were boosters for Nebraska, so David Goerz was a booster for Kansas. In 1874 he wrote a thirty-page pamphlet describing the Mennonite settlement on the lands of the Sante Fe Railroad in Harvey and Marion counties, Kansas. The booklet discussed the topography, soil, water, climate, farms, stock farming,

18 *Mennonitische Blätter* (Danzig, Germany) March 1875.
19 *The Free Press,* November 12, 1874.
20 R. C. Overton, *Burlington West* (Cambridge, 1941) 442.

markets, industries, building materials, fuel, towns, routes to Kansas, terms of land sales offered by the Sante Fe, and the possibilities of the area as a location for a Mennonite settlement. This pamphlet and his paper *Zur Heimath* must have persuaded many immigrants to select Kansas in preference to Nebraska, Minnesota, or Dakota.[21]

In spite of grasshoppers, dust storms, prairie fires, scheming neighbors, and stubborn oxen the settlers as a group were satisfied and happy that they had come to America. One settler was even optimistic enough to report to his European friends that the grasshoppers would not eat the prairie grass and so their cattle feed was saved. From Dakota it was reported that the settlers liked the land and were of "good courage." An eastern committee visiting the Dakota settlement reported that although many were living in sod houses, that prairie fires had destroyed their crops, and that many were suffering from burns received in the fire, yet none wished to return to Russia.[22]

A letter sent from Marion County, Kansas, in January 1875 to a church paper in Germany declared that they "hope that with God's blessing this part of Kansas will become a flourishing community. All those who came with an idea of what it means to settle on a fresh prairie are very well satisfied; he who came with wrong conceptions will, of course, be disappointed."[23]

These immigrants were not restless wanderers; they had come here to build homes and communities. Their planning and building for the future gave them a forward, optimistic outlook on life. With building houses, breaking prairies, digging wells, planting gardens and orchards, and a dozen other tasks, they had little time for homesickness. Or is there a touch of homesickness for Russia in this request from a Kansas sister to her brother in Russia who was to join her soon, "Please bring gooseberry seeds along, and cedar seeds from David Friesen; cherry pits, rose hips, and tulip bulbs are needed."[24]

The Russian Mennonite immigrants of the seventies like others before them had dreamed "the American Dream," and in their simple, restrained language they voiced their deep sentiments of thankfulness and hope. Perhaps none of the letters shows more clearly these sentiments than the following one written by a daughter residing in Kansas to her father in Russia:

> And how long do you want to toil along in miserable Russia, when you could live here in all quietness. I know if you were here, you

21 *Die Mennoniten-Niederlassung auf den Ländereien der Atchison, Topeka und Sante Fe Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft* (St. Joseph, Missouri, 1874).
22 *Friedensbote* (Milford Square, Pennsylvania) November 15, 1874.
23 *Mennonitische Blätter* (Danzig, Germany) March 1875.
24 Letter from Jakob and Katharina Warkentin, Gnadenfeld, Kansas, August 28, 1877, in the Bethel College Library.

would regret that you hadn't come sooner. Because we all like it here . . . and I know that you would like it here too. . . . We never hear from you that you think of coming here, which hurts me very much. I wonder what keeps you so long in a strange country where nobody asks for you, while here you would be received with a thousand joys by your children and relatives. And wouldn't it be a joy to see all your friends again? All of them ask for you and wish to see you. And why do you want to wait longer? Hurry and leave that miserable Russia and you will see some happy days among your children who love you. . . . I also believe that if one of us would go there to tell you how much more peacefully one can live here, you would soon come to us. I wonder also about my brother, why he is so afraid of America. He doesn't have to farm here. He can conduct business as well as there or better. He can have a mill here, too, in which he is interested, or another business, if only he would want to come here. I don't want to go back to Russia even if somebody gave me a mill there.[25]

25 From a letter written by P. P. Wedel's mother to her father in Russia; P. P. Wedel resided at Moundridge, Kansas. The letter is in the Bethel College Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

JOHN F. FUNK'S TRIP TO MANITOBA IN 1873

John F. Funk (1835-1930), Mennonite publisher of Elkhart, Indiana, served as treasurer of the Mennonite Board of Guardians, a committee formed in 1873, to aid the Mennonites then emigrating from Russia to the United States. Funk was a prominent member of the committee, helping its work not only as treasurer but also through publicity in his *Herald of Truth* and by giving direction in the choice of land and the settling of the immigrants. In September 1872 he and Bernard Warkentin, a young Mennonite from Russia then visiting America, inspected land in Minnesota and Dakota. In the following June, Funk accompanied the deputation of twelve Mennonites which had come from Russia and Prussia to inspect American frontier lands. In the inspection party, which met at Fargo, Dakota, June 9, 1873, were Leonhard Sudermann, Jacob Buller, Tobias Unruh, Andrew Schrag, William Ewert, Henry Wiebe, Cornelius Buhr, Jacob Peters, Paul Tschetter, Lorenz Tschetter, David Klaasen, Cornelius Toews, all from Russia and Prussia; Jacob Y. Shantz, Isaac Leatherman, John F. Funk, of the American Mennonites; M. S. Hiller, of the Jay Cooke Company, C. B. Powers, of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and William Hespeler, representing the Canadian government.

From Funk's diary (see *MQR,* October 1950, 302-311) it is clear that the European party of twelve and the five Americans left Fargo for Manitoba on a Red River steamboat, the *International,* on June 13. Evidently Powers dropped out of the party at that point, since his interest was only in the N. P. Railroad. The letter below, written by J. F. Funk to his wife in Elkhart, Indiana, on the way back from Manitoba, is in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana, and has never been published, although a quotation from it appeared in C. K. Francis' *In Search of Utopia* (Altona, Man., 1955). This communication sheds light on living conditions on the Manitoba frontier during the decade of the 1870's when large numbers of Mennonites from Russia settled in this province.

The letter follows.

On Board Steamer Dakota
On Red River of the North
Eighty Miles North of Moorhead
June 27th, 1873

My Dear wife,

I have not written for so long a time, 1. because I was where a letter could not be forwarded only by the same conveyance on which I myself had to go, 2. because I had no writing material with me a portion of the time, and no time to write and lastly while in Manitoba under her B. Majesty's Possession postage costs more than here.

We are however now on our way again to Moorhead on the line of the Northern Pacific R.R., in other words, back to where civilization begins again. We are sailing slowly and steadily up the Red River, the most crooked stream I have ever seen. The distance to Ft. Garry by land is 225 miles and takes 36 hours to make the trip by stage. By boat it is some 600 miles and takes from 84 to 96 hours to make it. We have been going pretty steadily ever since we left home and you may rest assured we saw some things and experienced others. We left Fargo on Friday June 13th and went to Winnipeg, or Ft. Garry in Manitoba—we were on the way some 6 hours—The boat was large, well loaded down with freight and overcrowded with passengers. It was altogether a pretty rough trip.

The mosquitoes were thick at times, and we had to sleep on the floor for want of beds. They set a fair table of Raw (Rare) Beefsteak, salt ham, strong tea, and excellent coffee; bread and potatoes are generally good—occasionally we had fish and vegetables. We had services on tthe boat on Sunday and a very attentive audience—we had speaking in English and German. Our party comprised 17 persons. When we reached Garry we were received by the Government Officers, put into a very shabby hotel—though probably the best they had—and well treated—though the comforts of life are few and far between there. We took breakfast at the Hotel and about noon we were called to the government House and received by the second officer of the State, treated to a great deal of the fine talk and praise for the country (which it needs) and champagne wine and cakes. After dinner we rode out to see the land—saw some good country—fine wheat etc. The next day we started to see the eight townships reserved by parliament for the Mennonites—two wagons with tents and provisions started early on the wrong road (sequel will follow) about 8 o'clock 5 more wagons with some more necessary things were ready and we were taken on and driven into the wilderness.

When the noon time came we had no provender for the horses, and only a few crackers and a little cheese to eat. We ate it and drank water from the pool, slough water full of indescribable substances. It was a good thing then that we had some wine with us.

The horses eat grass and drank the same water we did. After dinner it rained and rained again—then O for the comforts of a settlement! But out on the prairie and no shelter! We went on after the rain. The ground was wet and swampy—several of the horses sank into the mire and could go no further. We must unhitch them, go down into the mud and water half way to our knees and draw the wagon out by hand. This happened at least five or six times and once we had to draw the wagon at least a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile while the empty wagon cut the mire half way to the axles. At last one of the horses in our team gave out—he could go on no further, we must get off and walk—the team must rest for half an hour and then try and follow. Then there was a big swamp, and we walked far and got very tired—night was coming on and we had still some distance to go to reach the point where the tents and provisions were to meet us—we had traveled some 40 miles through the open prairie, and swamps and were beginning to feel the need of rest—our clothes were damp and boots and stockings wet, and thus about dark (it gets dark here about 9 o'clock or later) we reached Oak Point, where the teams, tents and provisions were to meet us but they were not there. Here is a government house for the accommodations of travelers over the State Road—The Hudson's Bay Co. has also a store there. As we were a government party and had several of the Government officials with us, our purpose was to gain admission to the government House for the night. But the petty official in charge denied us this privilege, as he had received orders a few days previous not to admit any one without an order from some other important official. No explanation nor appeal in regard to our needy condition could prevail; we must have the written order to gain admittance. So we saw a pile of boards near by and consoled ourselves with the thought that we had a little cheese, some eggs, and crackers and a couple of small tents in our wagons, and at once built a fire to answer the threefold purpose of drying our clothes, cooking our eggs, and driving away the millions of mosquitoes which tormented us in swarms and made existence almost intolerable, while some of our men carried boards and made a floor to cover the wet

ground where we intended to pitch our tents, eat what we had, and stay all night. The man in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. house came to our camping ground and seeing our unenviable condition was led to take pity and at once offered us two rooms which were unoccupied in his company's house. This was a comfort indeed, and we immediately accepted the kind offer. The horses were left to graze on the prairie, as no oats could be obtained; we soon, through the kindness of our friend, had a good warm supper prepared, consisting of bread, eggs, cheese, and tea. We eat with a good relish and composed ourselves on blankets, buffalo robes, etc., spread out on the floor to sleep, and our sleep was sweet.

The next morning several of our party went in search of the lost provision teams, while the rest of the party remained here until they should come, as we did not deem it advisable to go on any further without our camping arrangements, provisions, and forage. About noon the lost teams came in, prepared us a dinner of ham and bread and tea and after eating we started south west for the Reservation, taking with us a half breed guide. We found it, and traveling into it some three miles, we camped our tents on the edge of a dirty, swampy river for the night where mosquitoes existed as though they were lords of the land. Here we found some light timber, some stone, a good soil and good grass, but a good deal of low wet land. Of production we can say nothing, there being none but black- and raspberries AND MOSQUITOES.

After getting through the night and partaking our usual breakfast of ham, bread and tea, we started out again Southward—found, on the borders of a little stream, near the edge of a timber, and close to a spring of good, clear water. (the first we had seen or tasted in the country that was *good),* a Canadian family who had lived here two years—and were very glad to see us. The woman could talk German, they liked it well, and had a little garden where a few things were growing nicely. We went on and found more dry country and at noon encamped near another dirty pool—where we fortunately found a nice clear spring of water in a grove near by. It did us good to drink spring water and feel that it was pure and clean—even the tea tasted better—I lose all compunctions of conscience against drinking tea under the necessity of drinking the dirty stagnant water found in these sloughs. That afternoon we got into difficulty. One of our teams was mired and after getting out again we found ourselves before a deep little river which it was not possible to cross without some kind of a bridge. We had a scythe with us and there was an abundance of high coarse slough grass—so the men went to work, mowed the grass and threw it into the river until it formed a sort of a bottom upon which a horse could tumble over. Thus all our horses, 15 in number, were taken over, then with a rope we drew the wagons across, and went on. The stream was only about 10 or 12 feet wide. That night we camped again where we had only black slough water and millions of mosquitoes. The water after it was boiled made a passable tea, but it was pretty hard fare for one accustomed to good water but it is strange how soon we get used to these things. The next day being Saturday June 21 we drove back again to Winnipeg and five of the deputation determined to accompany me to Dakota, as we were all fully satisfied with our experiences there. Manitoba has a good soil—and good water at some places, but it has not much facilities for transportation either to or from—and the inhabitants are nearly all halfbreeds, Indians, a poor, shiftless race of people and I cannot recommend it as a good place of settlement. The same evening we took the boat for Pembina and arrived there on Monday morning.

Here we met Major Campbell Comr. of Surveys and Col. Wheaton Commander of the post, who furnished us with an ambulance, a teamster and four mules—in addition to which we hired a buggy and went to St. Joseph near the Pembina Mountains. Pembina is the U.S. Military Post on the Red River near the line between Canada and the U.S. We went west near this line, 30 miles. We stopped the first night with Mr. Botteneau, a half-breed who owns some 320 acres of land, has a good house, well furnished, and lives very comfortably. The next day we went on and came to Geo. Emmerlings (?) a German Catholic, a very generous man. Here we took dinner and supper; staid all night and breakfast and he charged us nothing. When I sat down to his table my mind was carried back home. Once more I could eat with a relish; the coffee was delicious, tasted better than I ever drank. The nice fried potatoes, the bread, the sauce and every thing looked and tasted so good that for once I felt happy—and forgot the discomforts under which I had so long labored. The whole family looked neat and tidy. On Wednesday June 25 we bade this kind family goodbye and came back to Pembina, stopping at Botteneaus again for dinner—they had just killed a young pig about as large as our second one in the pen, and they prepared, I believe nearly half of it for dinner. In the evening we stopped at Pembina and lodged in a low thatch covered house of mud and logs and full of filth and mosquitoes, where about 3 o'clock we were awakened by the whistle of the boat and four o'clock found us on board the Dakota where we now are near Grand Forks at the mouth of the Red Lake River. It is just past dinner and the boat shakes a good deal so that I write as well as I can. I am sitting outside, on the shady side of the boat while some of the hands are eating their dinner on a barge which we have in tow. I am going to quit now—I cannot tell yet when I will come home—will come as soon as I can, shall expect a letter when I get to Fargo—give my love to all. My Sundays have all been employed—I have not been idle entirely—I have spoken once every Sunday since I am away from home. We always had services on the boat, we had a very attentive audience on the steamer Selkirk last Sunday evening. We found very beautiful land west of Pembina on the Pembina River where we last were. Hoping this may find you well, I am truly your husband,

J. F. Funk

The weather is exceedingly warm and our party all have so far been well. Will send some more copy soon—I have been writing nearly all day. If you write again and if there are any letters for the Russians tell A. K. F. to send them to me care of Geo. O. Manchester, Plattsmouth, Neb. Enclosed I send you a few flowers from Manitoba and one mosquito—see how big it is.

June 27—I am writing tonight at 10 p.m. in the Grand Forks stage office. I and Bro. Shetter [Tschetter] left the boat here and will travel by stage to Moorhead 80 miles. Will leave in the morning at 4 o'clock. There is a very pretty country here—and a place well adapted for settlement. We saw corn planted 4 weeks 3 feet high, and were invited by a friend to tea.

Sunday June 29 we traveled yesterday 80 miles in a lumber wagon and I am very sore today. I received your letter of the 13th and was glad to find all well. We expect to get through in two or three weeks. I am sorry I was not at home to see Uncle Mat Leathermans.

Goshen, Ind. MELVIN GINGERICH

History of Mennonites in Virginia, 1727-1900, Volume I. By Harry Anthony Brunk. Press of the McClure Printing Company, Staunton, Virginia, 1959. Pp. 554, cloth, illustrated. $7.00. Obtainable from the author, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia.

This volume represents a prodigious amount of labor. For many years the author patiently searched every possibly source for the history of a people who were not noted in past generations for the fullness of their church records. Even a cursory examination of the alphabetized list of sources (pp. 519-528) and the documentation of the volume by page and line (pp. 529-554) will reveal the patient research and careful sifting of evidence with which the volume abounds. For many years the friends of Harry A. Brunk, Associate Professor of History in Eastern Mennonite College, have waited for this book on which they knew he was laboring. Now the wait has been rewarded.

The volume begins with the early Mennonite settlements in Virginia, then turns to the three bishop districts of the Shenandoah Valley, Northern (Chap. 11), Middle (IV), and Southern (VII), with two good chapters on the noted music leader of the Virginia Mennonites, Joseph Funk (Chapters V and VI). This is followed by the story of the relation of the Virginia Mennonites to the Civil War (VIII), the organization and work of the Virginia Conference (IX), the coming of the Sunday school (X), and Sunday School music from 1865 to 1900 (XI). Brunk then resumes the history of the three bishop districts Northern (XII), Middle (XIV), and Southern (XVI), with three parallel chapters on the mission efforts of the Northern and Middle districts (XIII, XV) and the work of the Virginia Mission Board (XVII). The two final chapters deal with colonization (XVIII) and with the schism of the Old Order Mennonites (XIX).

Although the writer is a professor of history he has not allowed items of human interest to be passed over. Time and again he tells an anecdote which serves to make a church leader's personality sparkle with high humor. Indeed, the spicy and delightful stories and quotations make this volume more or less unique among the regional histories of the Mennonites. When the author patiently explains that the "Lower" District is really the Northern, and the "Upper" District is now the Southern, he concludes his explanation with the remark: "Sense or no sense." Among the items of interest which were totally new to the reviewer were the origin of the hymn "Above the Trembling Elements" (p. 233) and the Mennonite ancestry of the author Pearl Buck (p. 432). Not altogether unexpected, yet well portrayed is the spiritual state of the church prior to the period which H. S. Bender has called the "Great Awakening" (toward the close of the nineteenth century, when the Sunday school was introduced, English services adopted, evangelistic meetings begun, and the like). The author shows how feeble the church was in meeting the challenge of the Evangelical Association, for example.

Of particular interest is the way the author clearly describes the historical development of the church districts, with the bishops Henry Shank, Henry Rhodes, and Peter Burkholder serving all the congregations in the Shenandoah Valley, after which Daniel Good, Martin Burkholder, and Michael Stauffer, and their respective successors took charge of the three districts. In the entire history of the church to 1900 the author tries to be an honest reporter, neither stressing unduly what he liked in the story, nor suppressing that of which he may have been ashamed. He says that he tried to write as Josephus is said to have written: he just told the facts.

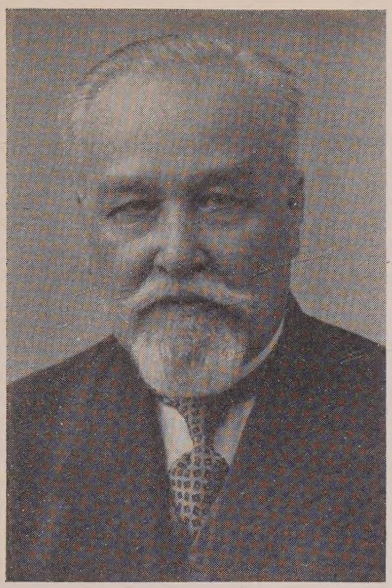
There will of course be some readers who will not like the occasional reference to the use of alcohol and tobacco prior to the Great Awakening, and others may be offended by the detailed account of the Old Order schism of 1901. But every historian will rejoice at the evident honesty and integrity of the author.

As a whole the book is remarkably free from typographical and similar errors. The elevation of the Shenandoah Valley is probably one tenth of the figures given on p. 45. The year on line 9 of page 36 is evidently to be 1765. The Amsterdam print of the Dordrecht Confession in English should be 1712, and the Philadelphia reprint, 1727 (p. 62). Emanuel Suter's birth year should be 1833, not 1855 (p. 205). But these few mistakes are negligible in a carefully written and well printed book of this size.

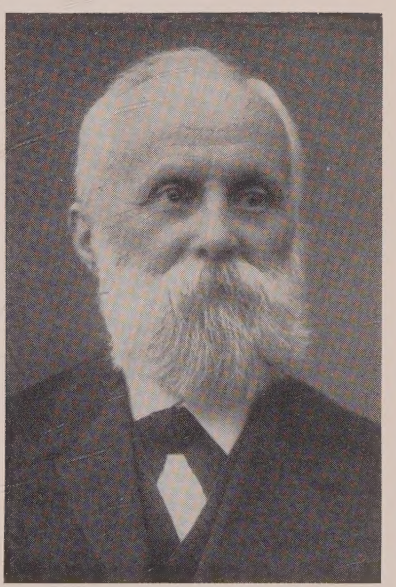
If any criticism is to be made of this volume it would consist of the observation that the author is strong on incidents and facts and perhaps somewhat weak in interpretation. The finest interpretation in the book is in the treatment of Joseph Funk and his contribution to the music both of the Virginia Mennonites and of the entire Mennonite Church. Could the author not have done the same for the development of the Church and for its theology and piety? No one in the church is in as good a position to interpret the life and development of the Virginia Mennonites as H. A. Brunk. Could he not have given us a little more on the decisive role played by certain of the leaders in the past two centuries? Who determined the character of the Virginia Mennonites? Peter Burkholder? John Geil? Samuel Coffman? Jacob Hildebrand? Emanuel Suter? We would like to look behind the outward chronicle reported so well by our author and try to understand the meaning of the events chronicled. We also wish the author had taken us into his confidence in the preface and told us why he is closing Volume I at 1900. Is this a purely arbitrary figure, or were there reasons other than a physical division of the historical stuff that was to go into the two volumes?

Although the author modestly omitted any admonitory remarks in the telling of his story, the book will nevertheless make a real contribution to the unity of the Mennonite Church of today. The clear delineation of the struggle over the Sunday school, unhappy as the narrative may be, is a powerful warning to today's leaders not to break the unity of the church over similar issues. The book deserves a place in the library of every Mennonite preacher and scholar, of every church and Sunday school library, and of every home of the Virginia Mennonites.

Goshen College Biblical Seminary J. C. WENGER



Christian Hege
December 20, 1869—September 13, 1943



Christian Neff
February 18, 1863—December 30, 1946